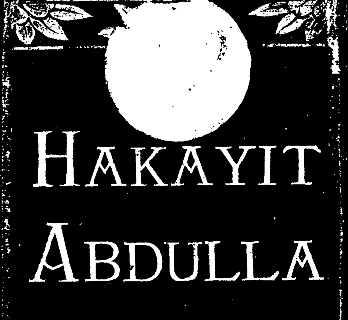
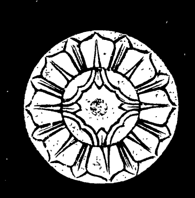
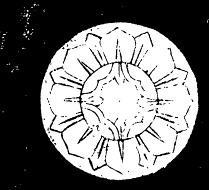
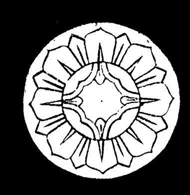
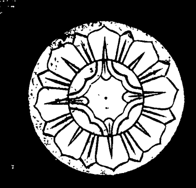


HAKAYIT ABDULLA









J. T. THOMSON

HENRY S KING & Co

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H H Bartlett
April 1919

HAKAYIT ABDULLA.

دباوه فنتواڽ اكن سواتو باڠون الس فنتواڽ مك اداله كيرا٢ توجه دلافن فوله يڠ مك مموات اورڠ٢ اية منديري كن فنتواڽ كوت
تردیري مك دمبوڠ اوله توان ملين فنتواڽ سرة برتريق عماس دوم داية اڠكول لسر جيني كوليج مك اينوله منجادي تمارو مداية سلمانڽ مك
سنتياس اية مسيڠ٢ فون كمباليله مك اداله كيرا٢ ستاهون لبه مباكيكي رومه اية مك سده هله للو ايفون فنده هله درڤد رومه لماكرومه بهارو اية
مك رومه لام ايتفون دروبهكن له دجاديكن رات اكن هلامن بهارو اية ادافون مك اداله كفد زمان اية ترلالو راميلاه انق٢ چينا دان جاوي
دان ملايو بلاجر دالم كوليج اية مك اداله جوك امفت ليم سيڤ فوله يڠ منجادي فنديتا ممباچ دان منوليس بهاس اڠݢريس مك درفد
كتيك ايتوله مك لاكو بهاس اوليه اورڠ تاو چرمين توان اڠݢريس مك سكلين فرافتكن ملين ايت اداله ملاكنونڽ كرانا تله منوروت عادة٢ ڽ دان
بهاسڽ درفد فكاينڽ درفد كال٢ دان فرمنونڽ سكلين منوروت اڠݢريس ادفون بيبراف فوله كاليكو كوره يڠ هكن اوله توان٢ اية
منجادي انق٢ ملايو سڬالا بوليه بلاجر دان مڠرتي ممباچ دان منوليس بايك بهاس ملايو بايك بهاس اڠݢريس مك اوليه
سبب بودوهڽ اية تياد٢ يڠ منجادي اڠݢريس تياد الاي ماو دانڠ كارن فدسڠكاڽ دڠن كوليج اين دتڠكفكن ددالمڽ اڠݢريس مك
بيبراف كالي اكو انجوركن اكن مريكئيت كره ممبريتاوكن مريكئيت بهو سكالي٢ تياد اڠݢريس اية هندق ممبلاكن كامو كدالم كمان
كالو اڠكو سنديري تياد ريضا ملفسكن سڬالا كامو بوله مڠرتي بهاس كامو دان بوله مڠرتي بهاس اڠݢريس كلو دبلاكن ترلالو
بايق كونڽ اڠكو سكلين بوله منجادي كليدوڠ دڠن مودهڽ دان لاكي بوله دافركن علمو كيرا٢ بوكنكه بركون كند كامو سكلين كيرا٢ اية
مك جكلو تياد تاو كيرا٢ اية بكيمان كامو هندق برنياك جوال بلي دان لاكي بيبراف بايق نصيحتكو اكن مريكئيت تياد جوك داندهكنڽ سكل
ترلبه٢ اكو بخابر اكنديري مك تاد هكن فول جمنوران اكند اكو دالم خيكرنڽ اكو هندق مروسقكن دي كسيفڽ دانتنله دڠكي دالم هاتي مريكئيت
اكند اكو مك ديم٢ مريكئيت فركي مڠاسوه انقڽ كومبوره ملارڠكن اكو جاڠن فركي بلاجر بهاس اڠݢريس اية نتي كلق اية منوروت عادة
اڠݢريس دان روسق اڬماڽ انقڽ ايمفون ملارڠكن اكند اكو كتان اكو تياد سوكا انقكو فركي بلاجر بهاس اڠݢريس دان كوربتي كارن
سوره ڠونون اورڠ كلام تياد بلاجر اية دان لاكي بابڽ اورڠ مڠتاكن فكرجان اية تياد بايك بايئنة هرو سقكن اڬماكيت اداله مك افيل
كدڠاركن فركتاان جنيڠ اكو اية مك تنده تله اكو بمبل برفيكر درهيان كراڠنڽ دانتن فركتان بوده اين كند بڠ اكو مك سكلين لمانڽ داجرڽ اكو
سڬالا منجادي فنديتا مك سكارڠ اين ماره فول ايڽ سبب اكو منجادي فنديت مك جوابكو اڤاكه سببڽ بڠ ملارڠكن سهاي فركي بلاجر اية مك
كتان كارن بابڽ اورڠ٢ كات سماالكو بهو انقكو نتي روسق سب منوروت عادة اڠݢريس اية كارن بايئنة بڠساتو لالو فنديتا هيمو جوماتي
اورڠ اكو تاكة انقكو نتي روسق سب منوروت فڠاجرنڽ اية مك جوابكو بوكنكه نتان كيت منوروت عادة يڠ بايك دان ممبوڠ عادة يڠ جاهة
دان كالو درفد بوده منجادي فنديتي روسقكه نمان مك بڠ امتڠ كنتي كوتن اورڠ بوده٢ اية سبب مريكئيت منارو دڠكي كفد سهاي
تتكل سهاي مبورهان انق٢ ڽ بلاجر درفد دودق دڠن چوماي يڠ تياد برفايده بوكنكه بلاجر بايك مك جواب بڠ اكو كاله فنديتي
برجاكو سكارڠ اكو تياد بوله ترلالو نلاكي دهولو اڠكو كچيل بوله اكو اجر سكارڠ اڠكو سده بسر فد سڠكاماو اكو تاكه اكند يكو مك جوابكو
جاڠنكن سهاي بسر اين جكلو منجادي راج سكاليفون كالو اد بارڠ اف كسلاهن سهاي بوله جوك بڠ بوة اف سوك مك افيل دڠرڽ اية مك

Photo-Lithograph of Page 64 of Abdullas manuscript,
Two thirds the scale of the Original.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE

HAKAYIT ABDULLA

(BIN ABDULKADAR),

MŪNSHI.

WITH COMMENTS BY

J. T. THOMSON, F.R.G.S.,

AUTHOR OF "SOME GLIMPSES INTO LIFE IN THE FAR EAST," ETC., ETC.

HENRY S. KING & Co.,

65 CORNHILL, AND 12 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

1874.

PREFACE.

One who writes an autobiography yields his spirit for consideration and study by his fellow-men or by the world. That a native of the Far East should have done this is certainly, as far as my information goes, a signal event, as I can call to memory only such another case, viz., "The Memoirs of a Malay Family," translated by Marsden. Casting my memory thirty-five years back, this was a melancholy tale. The present memoirs, on the contrary, will show the vigorous and lively representation of personal feelings and opinions, as well as acute observations on men, manners, and cotemporary events.

In bringing the following translations before the public, I am moved by several inducements. In the first place, the Autobiographer himself, when in life, asked me to translate his writings; this was in the year 1846, but I was too much engaged in business to permit of the attempt. At the same time this is to

be regretted, as I could then have done more justice to the task than now, having had to undertake the work after eighteen years' absence from Singapore, and without the assistance of a mūnshi, or native scholar. Still, as an offset to this, if I can bring less familiar acquaintance with the ideology of the language, I can bring more experience of influences outside, which have to be considered in remarking on many of the topics.

In the second place, I have had an ever-recurring interest in the scenes and countries among which the Autobiographer recounts his experiences, and I warmed to the subject on taking up and perusing the long-neglected manuscript * which I obtained from the Autobiographer himself. In the third place, the topics are connected with that period when English valour and statesmanship won the prize of Insular India, an Island Empire of twenty millions of inhabitants: so the transactions cannot have lost their interest. As the Autobiographer was in close connection with one of the leading actors in the achievements, and saw many others, his remarks (the remarks, be it reiterated, of a native) on their familiar conversations in un-

* I understand that it has also been printed in Malay letters. The language used by the Autobiographer is Malay, and the writing Jawi; that is, what may be called mixed character, founded on, or rather being essentially Arabic.

restrained moments, and daily doings, picture them more interestingly than can be found in grave history. It is an erroneous assumption in Europeans to think that their actions are not critically canvassed by the natives of India, the contrary being the case, an example in proof of which will be seen in the following pages; indeed, their actions are closely watched, and too often unfavourably criticised and misrepresented. This results from mutual misunderstanding,—a state of matters hitherto unavoidable, whatever the future may bring forth.

Lastly, the translations will show how unfeigned and unfailing esteem may be generated in the native mind by just conduct and refined manners. It would be surprising if contrary bearing did not create the opposite feelings, hurtful to British moral and material ascendancy. Further, the opinions and views expressed by an intelligent and well-disposed native, such as Abdulla, on events passing among his fellow-countrymen, give an insight into their motives, prejudices, partialities, hatreds, superstitions, and other impulses, from a qualified source, and this in a manner never to be thoroughly attained by an European.

It will be observed that, as the Autobiographer's point of view is different to that of an European, many subjects are painted in new colours, and sometimes, as

between nationalities, with naive impartiality. This has suggested to me a course of observations in my comments, which will I hope be found useful if not entertaining.

Portions of the work have already been translated by Mr. Braddell (now Attorney-General for the Straits' Settlements), viz., Abdulla's schooling, Colonel Farquhar's seeking for a settlement, and the Tan Tae Hoey which appeared in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, 1852; and by myself, viz., Abdulla's family, Christian missionaries, and Malay Governments, which appeared in a work termed "Some Glimpses into Life in the Far East," published in London in 1863. The above are not reproduced here, but they, as well as the remaining untranslated portions, will be shortly noticed.

THE TRANSLATOR.

Otago, New Zealand,
3rd December, 1873.

CONTENTS.

APPENDICES.

DIRECTIONS FOR PRONOUNCING MALAY WORDS.

Sound	*a*	as in	father.
,,	*e*	,,	faith.
,,	*i*	,,	feel.
,,	*o*	,,	sole.
,,	*u*	,,	blue.

By putting double consonants after the following, the sounds will be thus:—

e	as in	fell.	In the last syllable, by terminating with *h*, the same sounds are indicated.
i	,,	fill.	
o	,,	sodden.	
u	,,	sudden.	

The following double letters are sounded thus :—

aw	as in	awe.
ai	,,	lie.
au	,,	thou.
eu	,,	yew.
ei	,,	sight.
er	,,	inner.

Sound *g* hard always, and *k* soft in terminations only. The sign – is put over syllables of unusual length. The authorized orthography of well-known words is not altered, as Malacca, Macassar, Bencoolen, etc.

ERRATA.

Page 22, line 28, *for* "after words" *read* "afterwards."

Page 28, line 5, *for* "to," at the end of the line, *read* "and."

HAKAYIT ABDULLA.

I.

ABDULLA'S INTRODUCTION AND APOLOGY.

"In the name of God the Compassionate and the Merciful!

It came to pass about the year of the Hejira 1256, on the fifth day of the month Shaaban Almakram, viz., on the second day of the month of October, 1840, that at that time an intimate friend of mine* kept constantly pressing me to let him know my origin, the nature of my history, as well as the whole circumstances of my life, which he suggested should be written in a book composed in the Malay language.

Now because of this I became so much concerned that I sat ruminating over this desire of my friend, as all the events of my life, with their concomitants, had gone by with their age. Furthermore, I became loaded with anxiety at the thoughts of my being only a simple person, whose understanding and experience in the

* It is believed the Rev. Alfred North.

science of language was imperfect, and whose proficiency in this sort of composition was limited; besides, my position in the course of my daily avocation was one of ups and downs. Thus, while I considered all these things I was ill at ease in heart.

Then I said to myself, Let me examine myself on what I have heard and seen, especially as other people in this age generally are not backward in putting themselves forth as clever; while as to their talk, it is enormously big, in order that folks may believe in their cleverness; but their talk is all empty air. For when people ask them to do anything, whether it be in composition, in writing, or explaining language, to a certainty they are found wanting: for this reason, that all their tall talk is not based on training, but on hearsay by the wayside. Thus they neither know the ins nor the outs of it.* Furthermore, there are many people who are helpless, as gold dealers are without their touchstone in their hands, when they listen to the 'spoutings' of people of this description. Is their conduct not like the person stumbling at the pushing of a pillow while sound asleep. Thus they regard them without testing them, one way or another; just as a feather standing erect in their idea is a pole of wood of good stuff, straight, with no bends in it, so, as a matter of course, they think it must have weight in it. Now this is the reckoning of a man who, seeing a nice doll, halves it first to see into it, but finds it empty. Nevertheless, as says the critic, of course the jeweller knows the precious stone, and more especially in this age of wonders, wherein the wilderness is made into a town, the quarry into a vulture, the bug into a tortoise, and the worm into a dragon!

In the first place, all these miracles come of riches; for even if one be low and ignorant to the last degree,

* Abdulla was a teacher himself.

yet if he have riches he is, as a matter of course, clever and mighty; but if he be clever and mighty, but not wealthy, as a matter of course he is low again.

Moreover, all my sayings, my circumstances, and the like, I take by way of prototype of myself. In the first place, the lowness of my existence; secondly, the poor manner of making my living; thirdly, my want of knowledge and experience; and fourthly, it is not in me that rests the work of composition, and certainly neither have I the power or the direction, but this is of God alone. And further, on no account will I conceal my own backslidings and omissions at their times and periods.

After I had considered all the above, it suddenly occurred to me as if I had been startled by a person from my sleep, when I instantly answered him thus: If they think you are lowly, ask of those who are mighty; if you are poor, ask of those who are rich; and if you are inexperienced, ask of the Lord, who has promised that He will give to those who ask of Him. And if you thus believe in His providence, by the blessing of the Almighty, so I pray for assistance (as far as it can be vouchsafed) to that Lord who created the mighty sky, and who upholds it without props, that He may allow me to accomplish the wish of my friends. And if it rest not on me to do this, yet do I place my entire trust in Him to permit me to enter on this small undertaking.

There! now hear me, O my friends. As I compose this work on myself, so I shall call it the 'Hakayit, or Autobiography of Abdulla'; and there will be jottings in it up to the times to which I have lived, and back to the period of my birth in Malacca, relating to things that I have seen or have heard of,—including every particular of the occurrences in the country of Malacca or Singapore—these shall be noticed by me till the period of completing

the book. But in the relation no doubt there will be found many mistakes, lapses, and things forgotten, both in style and narrative, as well as in junction of the letters, or in the entanglement of words.

Now may I bow my head before the European and native gentlemen who take the trouble to read my story, so as properly to have acquaintance therewith; and as thus at the very beginning of my book I have acknowledged my deficiencies and ignorance, I all the more heartily and willingly ask pardon and forgiveness; and I further state that it has no claim to the name of being a clever one, but, on the contrary, is full of stupidities and errors in every time and period."*

Note by Translator.

The autobiographer, Abdulla bin Abdulkadar, mūnshi, was a Mahomedan and a British subject, having been born in Malacca in the year 1797, which date is derived from information given near the end of the manuscript, wherein he states that in the year 1843 he was forty-six years of age. He was the son of Abdulkadar and his wife Salama, both of Malacca, which Abdulkadar was the son of Mahomed Abraim, of Nagore, South India, and his wife Perbagi, of Malacca, and Mahomed Abraim was the son of Abdulkadar, an Arab of Yemen. Thus Abdulla was of mixed race, three removes from the Arab. He would have been called Inchi or Mr. amongst his countrymen, had he not earned the designation of Padrè, or Father, by his close connection with the Protestant missionaries. In physiognomy he was a

* This has the same weight as "Your obedient humble servant" at the end of an English letter.

Tamilian of South Hindostan. He was tall, slightly bent forward, spare, energetic, bronze in complexion, oval faced, high nosed, and one eye squinted a little outwards. He dressed in the usual style of Malacca Klings or Tamils, having an Acheen saluar (trowsers), checked sarong (kilt), printed baju (coat), a square skull cap, and sandals.

He had the vigour and pride of the Arab, the perseverance and subtilty of the Hindoo,—in language and national sympathy only was he Malay.* But the translations will better illustrate the man, modified undoubtedly as his character was by contact with superior European and American intellects, such as Raffles, Milne, and North.

He was a literary man by descent, and his father had the honour and felicity to be *guru*, or native teacher, to Marsden, the well-known author of the "History of Sumatra" and the "Malayan Dictionary." Abdulla's original native education appears to have been liberal and arduous, according to the standard of his countrymen, comprising as it did Malay, Tamil, Arabic, and Hindee. This training qualified him highly for the pursuits into which he was led, first as a Malay writer in the employment of Sir Stamford Raffles, and as a translator and Malay teacher in connection with the Protestant missions at Singapore and Malacca.

His autobiography will be seen to commence with the usual initial phrases at the head of all Mahomedan books, and he well describes the palpitating doubts of one about to undertake the load of authorship, but he, notwithstanding this, clearly gives us to understand that he will hold his own against all competitors. He tells of

* Thus he was an ethnographical example of a process that has gone on from time immemorial in the tropics, viz., the fathers perpetuate the features, the mothers perpetuate the language.

his humility and poverty, but this must be taken as it is intended. Thus the native editor of the "Sijara Malayu," at the commencement of that well-known Malay work calls himself a fakīr, or mendicant, but meaning so only in the sight of God, as being given to religious or humane pursuits in contradistinction to those engaged in trafficking or money-making. So also Abdulla places his work on God, as having no self power. As comment on this topic would lead us into a dangerous controversy on the doctrine of "self will," we will avoid doing so.

The simile that Abdulla draws in regard to the jeweller and his touchstone for testing the quality of gold appears to have this intention, that he, as one having special knowledge of literature, is in a position to test the quality of the teachings of men who are mere pretenders to that knowledge, and of which the commonalty can be no judges, and are thus imposed on. At the same time I may say, that, having been personally under the teaching of several mūnshis, it was abundantly evident that in the far east the same jealousies amongst experts and artists existed as are found in other parts of the world, and not a whit less detraction.

It will be noticed, also, that while he extols learning he decries wealth. This is a common practice amongst moralists, which is the result of their position, and it would be unnatural in them to do otherwise.

Following the preface, the autobiographer relates his genealogy—the main facts of which I have already given ; he then tells of his father's avocations, his political missions, then his own birth, and his rearing and schooling; of the latter he gives a very full and characteristic account, from which we make some extracts. He says he got on till he was seven years of age without ever being punished or scolded, and, in consequence, learned nothing. But such pleasant times

did not last; for afterwards he was often beaten, besides having the reading boards broken over his head, and many "rattans," or canes, used up on his body. His fingers would be swollen with stripes for mistakes in writing, and he well exclaims, "With what difficulties is not the acquisition of knowledge attended!" At this time Arabic alone was taught in Malacca, but merely as a dead language,—the pupils being taught to repeat the Koran, as parrots, without knowing the meaning,—no harder lot for school children could be devised. The native language was never thought worth teaching; and in passing, I may remark that no people have to undergo greater hardships in learning the rudiments of their religion than the Mahomedans with their Koran; yet what sect is more zealous than they? The strokes of the propagator seem to draw the affection of their children, and not to destroy it. Is it because we love that best which costs us most? But the Mahomedan schoolmaster seems to have outdone even our old-fashioned holders of the birch in the variety of his torture of the youthful and tender charges under his care. Amongst the numerous modes of punishment so practically described, we have the "Chinese squeezer," an apparatus made with five pieces of cane, which are tied together at one end, but the other ends have a line passed through them; the manner in which it was used being to put the four fingers between the cane, when by pulling the line they were squeezed or pressed, *ad libitum*, in the manner of the thumb-screws of Lauderdale. Then we have the "smoker," which consisted of dry cocoanut husk set on fire, over which the young hopeful had his head held firmly, and to add to the torture, Chili pepper (Cayenne) was added, which entered the boy's nose, mouth, and eyes, causing excruciating pain, no doubt very much to the amusement of the schoolmaster

and edification of the other school boys. Again we have the "hanger," by which boys were hung by the wrists to a beam by cords, and thus held so high up that their feet could not touch the ground. No doubt this was a happy mode for the "moralists" I have above mentioned of recouping themselves for their abnegation of the good things of this world in the private sport and excitement they thus obtained by caning suffering humanity in its tenderest period.

After passing through this delightful curriculum, Abdulla informs us that he was engaged in the study of the Tamil language, and that after some time at this he was taken in hand by his father, who was very severe upon him, looking at him always with a sour countenance, and whipping him with a cane for each error in dictation. Again, not dismayed or crushed by all these appalling events, he entered on the study of Hindostanee with a Bengalee Sepoy in the Malacca Fort, where he seems to have gained some ease and comfort, for he informs us he there became a great favourite with the Sepoys.

He at times was induced to complain to his mother of his father's treatment, at which times she put her arms round his neck, and kissing him said, "My dear, do not be foolish; you are yet young and silly, and cannot know the value of education." This incident speaks volumes for a Malay mother, and indicates her common humanity in the world; and he admits afterwards, that he came to see what she said was true, as he found the real advantage of knowledge, and his triumph was in due time to come, which, however, must be given in his own words.

II.

HIS MOTHER'S PRIDE AND FATHER'S SATISFACTION.

"Moreover there came upon a certain day a native skipper to our house, searching for my father, in order that he might have a bond drawn out in acknowledgment of a debt due to a Chinese merchant to the amount of 300 Spanish dollars. Now just at that time my father was very busily engaged at the residence of Mr. Adrian Kock, so that the skipper waited on till evening. So when I came out from the inner apartment, I asked of him, as is the custom, in this manner, 'Where are you from, O skipper; and what are you seeking for?' to which he replied, 'I am seeking for your "old man;"' upon which I told him that he was very busy, as above related. He then said that the business with my father was about an agreement which he had to draw out before his sailing. To which I replied, that if he liked it, I would prepare the document; to this he assented, with the remark that it might be possible for a young tiger to become a kitten. Says I, 'Not too fast, O skipper; let me try.' So in a jiffy I retired to the inner apartment, where I was accustomed to do my exercises, and asking the names of the debtor and creditor, wrote them down, and brought out the writing to show him. When he had read it with a glance of intelligence, he said, 'It is correct, youngster; now let

me put my signature to it before you.' So he did this, and considering within himself while he was about to go out at the door, and showing me a dollar in his hand, he said, 'Take this, youngster, to buy sweetmeats.' So I took it in great delight at the thoughts of having got possession of such a sum. On this he bid me good-bye.

Just at this moment, while I was in the act of thanking him, my father returned, and on seeing the skipper said, 'What news, O skipper? When did you come here?' And when I had caught sight of my father I flew into the inner apartment, and remained there with bated breath and great misgivings about the making of the writing. The skipper replied to my father that he had waited a long time for him, even from mid-day, and on his not appearing, he had asked his son, Inchi Abdulla, to make out a bond for him. When I heard him mentioning my name, my heart palpitated with fear. Perchance it might be wrong, for I had never made a writing of that sort before; furthermore, it was not under instruction, but out of foolhardiness and self-conceit. When my father saw the writing, he smiled, and said, 'The mischievous boy has been showing off his own cleverness; but you can use it. So go, O skipper, and deposit it in the office of registry.' On this the skipper took his departure, when my father came into the room with so smiling yet mysterious a deportment, that my mother asked what pleased him. Then said my father, 'If this day I had got a present of 1000 dollars, I could not have been so overjoyed as I am, seeing that my son can now help me.' So he told the whole story over to my mother, at which they both laughed, crying,—'God has augmented his understanding!' Again said my father, 'On this day have I got a son such as was born of you; yes, on this

day. And if he had not known how to learn or how to write, but had remained in ignorance, I would have counted him as if he had been dead.' Thus I heard all the conversation of my parents from out of their own room, and this was the first time that I came to fully know their love of me, as well as the use of all their teachings and the good of knowledge. So from that day I was convinced in my heart that all the lessons of my father were true, proper, and good.

After this my father came into my own room, where I was accustomed to be taught, with a sour face, saying, 'What have you been doing to-day? You know I have been out, and you have not been studying and writing: this comes of your laziness. Even though you know nothing of letters, here you have been making out a bond for a Siak skipper, with ever so many blunders in it; and so you think that you have mastered these things.'

Now I perceived that my father would on no account allow that I was competent or expert; nor would he praise me in any way, lest I should be proud. Yet it happened after this, in regard to post letters, or receipts, or powers of attorney, or wills, and the like, if people came to us for these, he ordered me to attend to them. He first told me such and such are the circumstances, such are the amounts, such the periods, letting me compose the instruments myself; and for a time or two only were there a few faults, for on the third trial all was correct. From that time he made over to me all his writing material and desks.

Moreover, at that time persons who were competent to write and compose were highly appreciated, for there were only four who could be engaged upon such employment. The name of the first was Mama Hoj Mahomed, a Malacca born Kling, who was employed by the Com-

pany.* After him was Mama Jamal Mahomed bin Nūr Mahomed, of Surat; then my father, Abdulkadar bin Mahomed Ibrahim, and Mama Mahadin bin Ahmed Libby. Now these persons were Klings of mixed race, excepting Jamal Mahomed, who was born at Malacca, but his father was a Suratee and not a Malay.

Now, it was on account of the diligence of these persons in literature and language as a science, that they attained excellence. Further, in whatever employment—be it in that of writing or composition of Malay, or Tamil and such like—it was they that convicted people and put them to shame in council. Thus they gained their living, and by no other means; and because of the liberality of the Malacca people at that time, they were kept constantly busy—there was daily work; and from this came not one advantage only, for their names became extolled in various countries, and they were cited by Europeans with high honour in their great courts."

Thus the knowledge to draw out a receipt had been attained. Laugh not at this, ye scholars of Europe; considering the depressing influences, both artificial and natural, it was a great event. Amongst a people sunk in apathy and ignorance, Abdulla had a right to be proud of himself. Had the Arab priest had his own way, he would have confined Abdulla's acquisitions to crying out texts from the Koran without his knowing the remotest meaning thereof. By this method the priest perpetuated a mysterious influence over the people which gave him absolute power; and he feared to impart even the most rudimentary knowledge. The pride of the parents

* Meaning the East India Company.

is also so well described as to be truly natural. The father's reticence and mock severity heap up honours on the son's head, and at length the finished schoolboy, after all his pains, by way of compensation finds the greatest of all pleasures, viz., that he can make himself useful.

It is a remarkable fact, that out of a population of 60,000 souls, only four could write the language of the country correctly. What power is thus running to waste! How prostrate must not a people be so situated in these modern days! After this there follows a disquisition on Malay literature, into which we need not now enter.

III.

DESCRIPTION OF MALACCA FORT, AND ITS DEMOLITION.

"Now at this time I had no other employment than that of constantly reading manuscript or writing, this only; when shortly there came a rumour to Malacca that the English intended to destroy the fort, but none of the races of people inhabiting the town would believe that such could be done so easily, saying one to another, that the life of the Governor would not be long enough to finish such an undertaking. This was, in their opinion, owing to the strength, workmanship, and hardness of the stones, and its extraordinary position. And on account of these circumstances such an event could not come home to their understandings, nor that the fort could be quickly knocked down. So many people went about saying, Now is the time coming for poor people to get rich in earning wages at the fort demolition. Another one would suggest that if they meddled with it many would die, for how many of the devil's imps were inside of it! Again, half the people cried that it comes of the knowingness of the English, this destroying the fort; for should it happen to fall into the hands of another power, it would be a long war to get it back again, owing to its great strength and the skill with which it had been constructed.

To proceed. The nature of the Fort of Malacca, as I observed it by walking along its ramparts and proceeding down to its foundations, was of stones called outerite, red coloured, of a half fathom to a fathom in length. These stones had been originally very smooth and straight, as if they had been chiselled. Further, the face of the walls inclined a little backwards, with a round moulding. The fort had four sides, and there were eight bastions; and the breadth of the ramparts of the bastions was from ten to thirteen fathoms, and it was here where the cannons were ranged around; and the thickness of the curtain was two and a half fathoms, while at each bastion there were underground cells, with folds, wells, and stables, and within the rampart walls of the fort there was a path, by which people could proceed round to the bastions, whence there were sally-ports.

Again, the height of the fort was about ten fathoms, as seen from above, and it is reported that the foundations were as much below the surface, for when they were about to demolish it, they went down seven or eight fathoms, and had not yet reached the lowest course.

Also the fort had four gates, and the largest gate had attached to it the great bridge. The large gate had also a small one, by which people went out and in after eight o'clock in the evening. This was eight or ten fathoms distant on the right wing. There was also another gate, for taking out and in merchandise, as also carriages,—all these went by this way. At these two gates Sepoys stood sentry by turns. Again, on the side of the Chinese Hill,* there was one small gate, and on the side towards Banda Illiar there was another of the same description as the great gate. And its bridges were three in number: one great one, viz., towards the town of Malacca; the second, called the little gate, towards the

* Bukit China.

Chinese Hill; and the third towards Banda Illiar. All these were made so as to be drawn up, which they did at night-time; but if there was any disturbance, or war, or such like, they kept them up. When large vessels were entering the river they had to pay dues, as well as when going out.

Moreover, around the fort there was a breastwork of earth, whose thickness was two fathoms, and at the foot of it they planted sharp iron spikes, and at the side of the spikes there was a ditch, whose breadth was about five fathoms, with about the same depth, from whence water could be let in or out. The sluice for inlet was near to the small bridge, but that for outlet was seaward, near the landward bridge. There were also banks round the moat planted with trees. And in the moat there were numbers of alligators and *sikap* fish, with mullets and prawns. Again, on the top of the fort, at about every two fathoms, they placed a cannon, also what was called a monkey-house—a place for the sepoys to watch; thus it was all round the fort. Then after six in the evening they would allow no one to enter—but only to walk outside, and when it was eight, they fired a gun and lifted the drawbridges, after which, if we did not carry lights we were taken hold of, and if we did not answer to the call we were fired at from above. There was also a road round the fort of ten or twelve fathoms in width, from the banks of the moat, all kept beaten down and planted with senna trees at seven fathom distances. Thus it was as far as the small bridge.

To proceed. Now there was a hill in the interior of the Malacca fort—just in the centre—of moderate elevation, on whose top stood a Dutch church, but which originally belonged to the Portuguese (Nazarenes). So when the Dutch had taken possession they converted it

to their own purposes. It is now used as a burial-place by the latter. The fort, however, was built by the Portuguese, and the way I know this is by the evidence of certain figures, over one of the gates, which were cotemporary with its construction, and whose appearance is that of that nation. These figures are made of stucco, standing erect, and of the size of children. They are to be seen at this day on the gate towards Banda Illiar: but the gate on the Malacca side was broken down by Colonel Farquhar. Near the church there is a garden belonging to the East India Company, in which are a great variety of plants, consisting of fruit trees, flowers, and all kinds of vegetables. There was also a well of many hundred fathoms depth, indeed of unknown depth, for if we threw a stone into it, it was a space before we heard the sound of it. Outside of the garden there was also another well of the same description. At the foot of the hill was situated the Governor's house, of elaborate construction, whence there led a covered passage into the hill leading to a water-gate.

Then behind the garden of the East India Company is the place of burial of Rajah Hajée, a Malay man of might, but of Bugis descent. It was he who made war on Malacca when the Dutch held it—which happened about fifty years ago, *i.e.*, about A.D. 1790, at which time he nearly took it, for he had gained all the suburbs and surrounding villages, merely leaving the circuit of the town itself untaken. At that time all the different peoples of Malacca bore arms, including Malays, Klings, Chinese, Portuguese, each under their respective captains and leaders. And after some years of warfare, Rajah Hajêe was struck by a ball at a place called Tanjong Pallas, when the Dutch, obtaining his corpse, carried it to Malacca and buried it there; this, as I have had related to me, was in a pig-sty. Twenty or thirty years

after this came his son from Linga and Rhio to Malacca, asking of the English Governor that he might carry the remains away for burial to Rhio, for which he obtained consent. Now, the history of the war of Raja Ḥajée is a very long one, and to go on with it would protract the work in hand, so I must set it aside.

Furthermore, there is on that side of the hill a prison, named by the Malacca people *miskurdia* (misericordia ?) that is in the Portuguese language, or tronko ; and in that place there is a room called tronko glap (dark dungeon), for the keeping of the greatest criminals. Here night and day are equally the same. And at the side of this are the instruments for putting people to death, or for other punishments ; the name of the place being "trato," that is, where people were racked on wood, when their joints were all separated and broken before being hung or gibbeted at Pulo Java (to which place the body was removed). Again, here were branding irons, used on criminals, whose print was about the size of a dollar. The branding was done before persons were put in chains, either to be strangled or to be rolled in a barrel full of spike nails, with the points inwards. Now the criminals were put into the barrel and rolled round the town till their bodies were mere pulp. I have not, however, seen this of myself, but have been told it by old people. Still, there were the instruments in existence, and the barrel stuck full of nails, besides all the other material of the Dutch for punishing and correcting the people. All these things, with their dungeons and the customs thereof, have now been done away with and burnt. The dark cell was demolished at the time of the war of Batavia, *i.e.*, the taking of Java by the English. While Lord Minto was in Malacca he put an end to these brutal practices, the instruments of torture being either burnt or thrown into the sea.

Now I return to the subject of Colonel Farquhar's undertaking to demolish the fort. He first called all the workmen (coolies) of various nations to commence landward, near the Chinese Hill, and he set on several hundreds of them; but they could not break a single stone in several days, for they were in such a fright, they being surely persuaded that there were evil spirits in the fort. This idea was caused by many people having dreamed different manner of things, amongst which were of some having been slapped in the face by Satan himself, calling for their death's blood, or bringing on them numerous kinds of diseases. Thus the panic amongst the workmen increased the more and more. These no doubt were absurdities arising out of a strong prepossession and mere timidity, which made the fear of danger a reality to them: just as lime sticking to a stone is taken for the stone itself, and the smell of it as if it had just been put on. When it was found so difficult to break up the masonry, then they were set to undermine the foundations; but the further down they went, there were less hopes of reaching them in this manner; they failed in this also. They measured the upper part, and found they had gone down the same distance below; so they stopped the work of digging down to the foundation, but they were ordered to commence demolishing on the seaward side—using hoes, rakes, pickaxes, and the like tools, but this proved but a sore trouble, so that many left off from fear, many men having died or fallen sick. The wages now rose to half a dollar per diem, but this even was not a sufficient inducement. Thus the demolishing of the fort became more and more difficult, and the people of Malacca began to think, at this period, that it would not be the English who could do it, by reason of its strength and the multitude of evil spirits opposing them.

Thus it went on for three months, in sicknesses, and

other disagreeables, as well as in the men dying or breaking their legs and arms. While such were the circumstances, it was bruited abroad that the Governor had ordered a mine to be carried under the sea bastion, where he intended to deposit powder boxes, with the view of blowing it up. When this was known, people cried out, What kind of an affair is this? Hundreds went to see it, myself amongst the number; and true enough, they had dug holes about one fathom square, of great depth to their desire. Then they dug the earth at the side of these wells, at about a fathom distance, in which they put the powder chests, to which they applied a fuse below the ground,—whose length was about ten fathoms,—made with cloth. The grains of the powder were rough, and as big as one's great toes. They then ordered these holes to be closed, which they plugged hard with stones and earth. They worked at these for five or six days, with ten or twenty men; after which they sent round the gong to make people aware that on the morrow, at eight o'clock in the morning, no persons were to come to the fort side of the river, or into the houses near, but to go to houses at a distance. Then, on the morrow, came Colonel Farquhar on horseback, holding a staff in his hand. He ordered his men to mount the fort and drive all people across the river, which they did pell mell. Immediately after this he lighted the fuse. This being done he spurred his horse; and in about four or five minutes the mine was fired with a noise like thunder, and out flew stones as big as houses and elephants, right out to the sea. There were also stones that were carried across the river to the tops of the houses. The people, when they heard the sound, got into a high state of alarm and consternation, for they never had heard such a noise before. The mighty power of gunpowder blowing up into the

air as it did stones as big as houses, filled them with astonishment.

Now only did people begin to believe that the English could demolish the fort. They now sagely wagged their heads, saying that great were the ingenuities and contrivances of the white people, but what a pity that such a beautiful fort should be destroyed as it were in a moment; for if it had to be erected again, how many years would this not take! For the glory of Malacca was its fort, and having destroyed this the glory had gone out of it; like the corpse of a woman, the husband no longer glories in her face. But this is the dispensation of the Almighty; the world is not everlasting: what *is* He maketh to be *not*, and what *is not* He maketh to arise.

Now the stones of the fort were removed by people in various directions—some made houses of them, and some even carried them off to Batavia during the Dutch tenure (*i.e.*, in 1818 to 1825), and lately also to Rhio, the English taking them on board ships to make the harbour of Bara. There are also some sunk in the river; others remain in heaps like hills to this time, for people to take as they like.

Some days after this they essayed to blow up the bastion towards the Kling quarter, when they gave notice by gong for the people to remove. Now, there was on the other side of the river the house of one Hatib Musi, whose distance was near about twenty fathoms. So all the people removed themselves, excepting a friend of the above Musi, called Basir Membarak, with a child called Abrahim. These hid themselves at the back of the house, in order to see the sport. So betimes the fuse was lighted, and the men had run for it; the powder had fired and blown up with a great noise, then came down stones as big as elephants, right on the top of the

house, and broke it down, crushing the hiders and covering them with rubbish. Upon this an alarm was given that five or six men had been killed. So all ran to the place—myself amongst the rest—to see the accident, for at that time I was ordered by my mother to keep at least a mile away. So when I had got there, I learned that in the centre of the house a Pulicut man, called Abdastar, was at meals when a fragment of rock struck his forehead, cutting the same. I then went inside, and coming to the boy Basir, I could see his legs only, and over his body were stones in heaps, of all sizes, from a quarter to one fathom. Nine or ten of these had crushed him; and they uncovered him to see if life remained. And over the boy Abrahim three stones had fallen, of a fathom in length, covered with earth. Thereupon they dug him out, and finding one of his legs broken in three places, they carried him off to the Pali quarter. And as to the one named Basir Membarak, he also was covered with earth and stones, and when he was got out his bones were crushed; so he was carried off to the English doctor. Basir, however, died, whilst Abdastar and Abrahim were brought round by medicine, so that God has given them life even to this day,* but they are both lame. Now what else could be done? for it was of their own fault that they went into mischief, so that people lay the fault on them. And when the people of Malacca saw all these things, they became alarmed, and after words at each blast they cut and run as far as they could, deserting their homes and chasing off the children.

Thus it came about that Colonel Farquhar made an easy job of demolishing the fort; and all those who did not believe in the possibility now shut their mouths, not saying another word. And all the evil spirits that were

* 1843.

in the brains of people went back to their originators, being afraid of the smoke of gunpowder, and the affair now stood thus, that the beautiful fort of Malacca was destroyed, blown to the winds, by powder; but if they had tried it stone by stone, it would have been standing yet."

The Fort of Malacca was surrendered by the Dutch to the English in the year 1795, the names of the English officers being Major Brown and Captain Newcome. It, with the adjacent territory, had been held by the Dutch since 1641, in which year it was captured by them, with the assistance of the King of Lahore, from the Portuguese. The Portuguese held Malacca from the year 1511, at which time they captured it from the Malays, who had been settled there, as Newhoff informs us, for about 250 years previously.

The demolition of the fortifications of so renowned a city is therefore a notable work in the history of Europeans in the East Indies, and it is interesting to note the impressions of a native who saw the actual operations. In his account he forcibly brings out one of the features in native character, and their occasional freaks which cannot be understood by Europeans, viz., their superstitious dread of evil spirits, which urges them on to unaccountable panics, or sometimes worse courses. He mentions that the fort was built by the Portuguese, but I have not been able to find the date of its foundation. Since it has disappeared, its style can only be guessed at. The fort at Point de Galle may, however, be pointed out as a type of its class, though the Malacca one appears to have been much larger.

It was in 1805 that the Directors of the East India Company ordered the abandonment of Malacca, they

desiring to retain Penang only; and the Supreme Government of India in consequence ordered the destruction of the fort on the 5th October of that year. The fort was accordingly demolished in the years 1807-8, at which time Abdulla would be eleven years of age. In his description, therefore, we see the reminiscences of a boy rather than of a man; and we smile when we peruse his account of the excessive difficulties, when we learn from Low that the total cost of the process was only 10,241 Spanish dollars, a little over £2,000 sterling.

Valentyn calls the rampart along the river St. Domingo, and on the sea-side Taypa, stretching towards Fort St. Jago. Adjacent to the church on the top of the hill he mentions the Monastery of St. Paul's, and those on the adjacent hills, Minnebroeders and Madre de Dios. The former still stands. The church itself is now deserted, and has been long used as a burying-place for the Dutch leading families, who have many exquisitely carved and cut tombstones. Here lies also the second Bishop of Japan, who died in the Straits of Singapore, during the latter part of the 16th century. The church is said to have been founded by St. Francis Xavier.

The figures which Abdulla alludes to by way of proof of Portuguese construction were still preserved in 1848, when I took a drawing of them which is now by me; and it is amusing to think how differently we judge of things. In the first place, the date over the gateway is 1670, that is during Dutch occupation. The design over this is rudely done in plaster, and would stand very well for, if it is not actually, the coat of arms of the Dutch East India Company. In the centre, surrounded by an astragal, there is a galiot of mediæval design, on the left side of which stands a burgher or

soldier with a shield on the left arm and sword in the right hand, holding a crown on the point of it. On the right side there stands what appears to be an angel with a flaming sword, and surrounding all are decorations of warlike weapons. The architecture of the gate itself is debased Ionic,—column on column,—and the workmanship is coarse.

Simultaneously with the Malays of the south end of the Straits of Malacca endeavouring to expel the Dutch, the Malays at the north end made attempts on the English settlement of Penang, but in either case they were defeated. The tradition related by Abdulla of the treatment of the remains of Raja Hajee, I believe to have insufficient grounds for credence. In the first place, the Dutch would have many Mahomedans in their employment as soldiers and sailors, etc., and of course would not do a deed most insulting to their faith. The tradition, however, is notable in giving an indication of one of those slumbering rumours that pass through the native mind, and which are remembered against Europeans to their disadvantage when a period of weakness comes. Thus the Dutch inhabitants of Palembang were, in 1811, carried out to sea by the natives and mercilessly sunk in a watery grave.

The modes of torture exemplified by the instruments in the Malacca jail would, however, prove that such cruelty, as was only perpetrated in mediæval times and under the excitement of fierce religious conflict, had been indulged in to a late period.

The commencement of the demolition of the fort shows clearly how inefficient is native labour, and the more so when to this is added the weakening influence of superstition; and here we may note how Abdulla himself, by education and converse with a superior race, had thrown off the latter. His simile is excellent. It

is curious to observe his glorying in the fort and lamenting its destruction, seeing it was by this that the European powers had overawed the natives; it shows how far sentiment will carry us, in revering things that have gone by. His remarks on the foolhardiness of Abdastar and his mates are good, and he truly points out to whom the blame of the accident attached. As to the jins or evil spirits, I have often remarked that the natives were thoroughly persuaded that Europeans were beyond their influence; so that they were under no apprehension of danger whilst acting under their supervision and direction.

IV.

AN ELEPHANT HUNT.

"Now all the four races* in Malacca were exceedingly fond of and attached to the governorship of Major Farquhar. The country itself was tranquil, and merchants came and went from all quarters to traffic here. The poor people even got a good living, as more especially did the rich. All got good wages in foreign trade, and many people from other countries also arrived to seek a living, and who took wives to themselves. Thus the mixed race became numerous in Malacca under the good laws and customs of the place. Each race had its captain; these again installed elders in each village, who, in the first place, looked over and settled small matters, and if they could not settle them, then the subject was taken to the captain, and afterwards, if it could not be settled by him, it was taken before the fiscal, and if again it could not be settled, then it went to the court. The country, it is true, belonged to the English, but the laws and customs were Dutch; and as to the language and names of leading men, all were Dutch.

Shortly after this Major Farquhar was created Colonel, and thereupon European sentries guarded his door. Now, the sentry on guard feigned that he loaded

* Malays, Chinese, Klings, and Portuguese.

his gun as usual; but he put in two balls, and as the Colonel was descending he fired, and with the report one ball glanced past him on the left, and the other on the right, which startled him; but as it was not to be his fate to die, he escaped. The distance between him to the sentry was only eight fathoms. Malacca was now in consternation at their Governor being fired at. Such was the case. The sentry was now laid hold of and put in prison till he was sent to Bengal, but I did not hear of his further disposal.

I now come to relate the story of Colonel Farquhar's elephant hunt. At this time there was a man in Malacca who came from Tringanu, called Pawang Gaga. He was originally a Kiddah or Queda man, understanding the habits of elephants well, and their medicine; so he came to Malacca to seek employment in this manner. He remained some time in Malacca, where he soon became well-known as an elephant doctor, both in catching and medicating. He did nothing else but range the woods. On one day he came to the house of Inchi Sulong, who was at that time native foreman to Colonel Farquhar, over whose garden operations he was the head, —finding men and such like. Thus the Pawang spoke to him, and told him that in the Malacca forest there were numbers of elephants, so that if the Governor would order it, he would catch ever so many. On Inchi Sulong hearing this, he went to Colonel Farquhar to let him know. On this Colonel Farquhar ordered that if it were true he would give the due authority for the hunt. This was told to the Pawang, who now appeared before the Governor, when it was agreed that he should go in search of the elephants, and on finding their tracks, that he should return and obtain sixty or seventy men to go with him; and should they be caught, he asked, what will be the agreement? On this Colonel Farquhar said

that he would give a hundred dollars for every one brought into the town. To this the Pawang replied, "Very good; but the cost of the operations are to be on you, and to commence with, I wish a little advance." This was assented to, when the Pawang retired. He now took two companions and entered the jungle, where he remained about eleven days, after which he returned to Inchi Sulong to tell him that he had come on a herd of sixty elephants, so that men should be sent with him to make a pen or fold; so this was agreed to. The pen was to be made at Sabatu, two days' journey from Malacca easterly. Inchi Sulong sent with him sixty or seventy men to work by shifts. The attention of the Malacca people now became general towards the intended hunt at Sabatu, all wanting.to go to see it, as they had never seen such a thing before. My own notions at that time need not be mentioned; I was like a bird complete with two wings about to fly direct to the place to see it.

I will now explain the manner of making the pen. The first thing done was to fell large trees in pieces of twelve cubits in length (eighteen feet); after collecting the timber the pieces were stuck into the ground close and well-bound together. The size of the pen was twenty fathoms square. On the top of the fence a shed was erected, for people to sit in, made very strong, all the materials used in it being large. And after this had been erected they made wing walls, like fishing stakes, *i.e.*, they stuck in posts, close together, to the right and the left, to the length of one hundred fathoms. They then stuck between these walls plantain trees and sugar cane, extending into the pen or trap. When all this was finished, the news created the greatest hubbub in Malacca, and all the Europeans, and the four other races, either on foot, in carriages, or on horseback, went to see; and

I amongst them. I was on the road two days; and on arriving at Sabatu, I examined the whole affair, and saw it was one of *design* only, not, as my neighbours would have it, of *spells, medication, and spiritism.* These were lying foolishness.

On the same evening the Pawang with hundreds of men entered the jungle to drive the elephants ; and when they met with the herd they surrounded them at a distance, being thus engaged for six or seven days in this manner trending them to the fences. Now, between these were plantain trees and sugar cane as bait (as related above), which when the elephants saw, they went straight for this food. On this the drivers got nearer, till they commenced to fire and shout on the right and left: thus the elephants, being now enclosed, made for the pen, led on at the same time by the bait.

Now men were ready stationed above the door of the pen, which was held up by a rope; so when all the elephants had entered they let go, and the door fell, thus entrapping the herd, which counted, large and small, male and female, sixty-two tails* (heads). The Pawang now ordered hundreds of men to get on to the top of the fence, all holding spears and staffs, and when the elephants seized the timbers of the fence, intending to break it, they were speared so that they let go: thus it was all round the pen,—here there was striking, there there was spearing. At this time I also tried to get on the top of the fence to see the fun, but the men would not let me; so I went softly to the Pawang, and showed him a rupee (2*s*.), and when he saw it in his hand, he said, "Very good, Inchi, get up." So his people set me up, and giving me a stick in my hand, they told me, when the elephants seized, to strike them; this I did. In the interior of the pen it was like a great battle, and

* Natives count by the tails.

the roars were like thunder without end,—each animal was doing according to its instinct: some scratching the ground, others throwing the sand up in the air, others switching themselves in the branches and in the earth with various sounds, some were piercing the fence with their tusks. The big ones were outside and the small ones inside. Thus the area got puddled two or three cubits in depth with the treading. People now set off to tell the news at Malacca to the Governor; who came next day with Dr. Chalmers and other Europeans in carriages; and, when they had ascended the fence, they then saw the elephants going round the area trying to get out, but wherever they laid hold men beat them. They were thus kept starving for six or seven days; and as they made fierce efforts to break the fence, the Pawang now took a little stalk of plantain, and with an exorcism he threw it into the area—there was quietness by this. I then heard people remarking, What a clever Pawang that is! See how potent his exorcism is; the elephants even are afraid! But this was entirely false, for the brutes, having fasted several days, were quiet on getting something to eat, and the little ones were appeased. After the herd had been ten days in the pen a little more plantain was thrown into a trap, when an elephant would come and become entangled by the neck—the trap being fastened to a tree. On this the Pawang would enter, and hobbling it right and left, he would get it out of the pen and tether it on the hill; this was done to all. All this time he gave them neither meat nor drink, being afraid that they might have strength to break the fence or their fastenings. Even with all this precaution, his people were chased by the elephants many times, even though on the top of the fence, with frightful noises. Some got broken faces, and often did the animals try to knock down the

fence, grasping the posts with their trunks, thus shaking the whole enclosure, and if they had not been at once hit with a stick, the whole would have fallen down. Further, many of the Malays and Chinese, as well as others, believed in the Pawang's supernatural powers over elephants by his exorcisms,—all the elephants of the forests being afraid of him, so especially should mankind. On this account thousands went to buy medicine, talismans, and amulets of him. But all these are false and foolish ideas, a misfortune to the buyers and believers. All comes of sense only, not from occult art.

The end of this is that I heard that nearly all the elephants died, only six or seven having been brought to Malacca. So Colonel Farquhar and Dr. Chalmers paid the Pawang as agreed on, and the bones of the dead ones were taken by them to send to Europe."

The above is an account of an elephant hunt which took place to the eastward of Malacca during the government of Colonel Farquhar; and when in the district, in the year 1848, I found that all the older inhabitants took that event as their era for reckoning. And thus it is with all aboriginal people, they have little knowledge of the value of historical dates, so they seize for their reckoning any unusual circumstance that may have happened during their lifetimes.

Abdulla tells us that the native hunter was a Pawang Gaja from Kiddah, meaning that he was a man believed by the natives to have supernatural skill over elephants, that is, an elephant doctor. Kiddah is the name of a small state near Penang, and means elephant enclosure, the state having received this name from the fact of its

being a province in which elephants were caught for export to India. Abdulla here again shows his contempt for the superstitious observances of the Pawang, and gives the scientific solution in a simple fact, viz., the elephants cried for hunger, and having got something to eat they were quiet. Here is his appreciation of cause and effect—crying from hunger, quieting by satiety; in this he was far above his countrymen.

The Pawangs or Poyongs of the Malay Peninsula may be likened to the medicine-men of American India, as described by Catlin, but they are not so ghostly,—both are embryo priests. I met one at the house of my friend and school-fellow, the late Mr. J. R. Logan (editor of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*), at Singapore. This Pawang belonged to the Mīntera Tribe, and came with a party of his fellows from the interior of the Malay Peninsula. Mr. Logan says of him (*Journal of Indian Archipelago*, 1848), "The most remarkable of the party was the Pawang, who displayed much sense and firmness in his character, and a slight degree of pride and reserve in his manners. He was looked up to by his companions as a man of superior ability and knowledge, and his reputed skill in natural and supernatural medicines made him an object of much attention to the Malays in the neighbourhood, who invited him to their houses and visited him to solicit herbs and charms. The women in particular regarded him as a magician of undoubted art, and many on first approaching him threw themselves at his feet. His head was decidedly intellectual in its formation." The above is the opinion of a highly cultivated mind on the mental status of an individual belonging to a tribe that are called "wild men" by Europeans, and Orang Utan (men of the bush) by natives.

Amongst many of the spells and exorcisms recited to Mr. Logan by the Pawang, the following is one relating

to the attacking of elephants. "Hong, quake; ghost, quake. I wish to cast down; I wish to strike. Go to the left, go to the right. I cast out. The Ghost quakes. The elephant murmurs. The elephant wallows on the other side of the lake. The pot boils, the pan boils on the opposite side of the point. Go to the left, go to the right, go to the water vessel. Ghost of grandfather (the elephant to wit), I let loose the fingers of my hand!"

Elephant hunting is seldom attempted by Europeans in the Malay Peninsula, I presume owing to the dense nature of the forest. I have frequently come across their tracks and heard their cries, but never saw one in a wild state.

We are indebted to Dr. Oxley for a lively and exciting description of an elephant hunt in the same district, which I transcribe from the *Journal of Indian Archepelago*, 1850. After having *bagged* game of various kinds, including the *sapi*, or wild cow, he states that "on pulling in shore (on the Moar river) we soon perceived a large elephant enjoying his morning bath, and so little did he seem to care for us, that he deliberately swam towards the boat. It was an exciting moment, for the great fear was of his escape. As I have said, there was but little light, but we could see his large body and the great nob on the top of his head pretty distinctly. The word was given, 'Be steady now,' and at about two paces' distance a couple of balls were put into his head. With this he turned round, and again he was saluted with a couple or more bullets. Not liking such a reception, he made for the land, and got upon the river bank, when a well-directed rifle-shot hit him hard and made him scream with pain. But instead of making off, as he might have done, the noble beast instantly came back into the river to take vengeance on his adversaries; but he was received so warmly, he could

never make up his mind to a regular onslaught on the boat, and when he turned and made off we followed, pouring in volley after volley upon his devoted head. Finding the side of the river we first saw him on, rather too hot to be pleasant, he made up his mind to a charge, and across the river he went. Then, indeed, he was at our mercy, and we followed, giving him the contents of three double barrels, one after the other in rapid succession, for by the time the third had fired, number one was again loaded. All this time we were having target practice at the large bump on the top of the head, for we could see nothing else at ten yards' distance. Every shot told, and the poor beast spouted water from his proboscis, uttering low yells of dissatisfaction. But his merciless pursuers had no pity, although when he did reach the land, and we heard him at the edge of the river uttering plaintive cries, they did elicit a few words of sympathy, such as, 'Poor beast! he is surely hurt; do you think he can get away?' When the boat was close to the shore he made one more attempt to get back into the river, getting so close to the boat as to put us in no small jeopardy from his tusks; but we gave way, and repulsed him with a regular broadside. He then took to the shore again. By this time morning began to break, and there was sufficient light to see him standing at the river's verge, tossing his trunk from side to side with his head towards us. Two of us caught sight of him at this moment and saw the large hollow in the forehead where the animal is most vulnerable. We pulled our triggers simultaneously, and when the smoke cleared away his large carcase lay stretched on the ground with the head reclining in the river."

The Moar and Kissang rivers present excellent arenas for sport, and I may add the whole Malay Peninsula.

Ceylon is more famous; but the former, being virgin ground, has actually more objects of attraction. With a few trusty Penang or Malacca Malays, a sportsman could go anywhere—having due regard to the feelings of the native governments,—and he could do so with perfect safety to health with a few precautions. First, he should be a water-drinker; and only carry spirits to be taken after being exposed to wet for a long time. He should never sit with wet feet, nor lie on the ground; avoid deep valleys at night time; take meals regularly; and never over fatigue himself. In the tropics I can claim great experience in these matters, though not as a sportsman, and have often seen the spirit and wine drinker completely done up before the water-drinker had any thoughts of being tired.

V.

CHARACTER OF COLONEL FARQUHAR.

"Now, Colonel Farquhar was a man of good parts, slow at fault-finding, having an equal bearing to poor as well as to rich, holding neither the one lower nor the other higher. If persons, however poor or mean, should come before him to lay a complaint, they had immediate access, and the whole plaint was listened to, and he gave advice and counsel till he had appeased them. Thus they returned rejoicing. And if he went out walking, driving, or riding, the poor people and others would salute him, on which occasions he would always return the same. His was an open hand to all God's slaves. All these circumstances became as a rope to tether the hearts of mankind to him. As dew falls at night and expands the flowers in the garden with its beneficence, which again diffuse their odours over the face of the earth. Thus all the deer that roam in the forest, even they come forth and assemble in that garden, to collect these flowers which are most beautiful; to wit, as for example it is the opinion of the intelligent reasoner from the above, when a man is really good, he is named as good for all ages to come; and even when dead his good name attaches to his memory. Now, if it be the idea of the great or the rich or the mighty, that by giving respect to the low or the poor their

greatness or mightiness is deteriorated thereby, I ask, What says the proverb? 'Does a snake by coiling round the root of a bamboo lose its poison? And whilst a great elephant has four feet, yet he sometimes trips, and at other times falls prostrate. Further, the birds that fly in the air, even they, at times, fall to the ground. And more especially is it with us human beings, whose nature is weak, whose life is uncertain, and who are perishable creatures, which state is not to be avoided, from one age to another; for the greatness and mightiness of this world flits—they are not guaranteed to one for any length of time, but only the name of being good or bad. This people speak of after they are gone.'"

The above testimony, penned by a native, and long after the officer was dead and gone, is all the more creditable; and I felt the more pleasure in translating this as I have had, in previous works, to comment on some officials unfavourably. It is a trying position for a man in power, so far removed from control, to act entirely unselfishly, as Colonel Farquhar appears to have done, and this with grace and benevolence. The question that always must disturb such breasts is, How far shall I neglect my own family by public devotion? The East India Company's arrangements gave ample scope for the worse course.

The term "God's slaves" I have translated literally, as to do otherwise would not be rendering the Mahomedan's meaning correctly, the word he uses being "hamba,"—*i.e.*, slave, and not "mehkluk," creature. The phrase is strange to the European ear, and is used by Mahomedans, I presume, from motives of doctrine,

they not believing that man is a part of the Divine Essence.

The simile of the deer assembling in the garden seems to convey this meaning: that the innocent and weak had such protection under Colonel Farquhar's government, that he held their entire confidence. Again, that of the snake coiling round the root of a bamboo would indicate the following lesson: the root of the bamboo being a favourite hiding-place of the snake, danger from it or other causes is more to be dreaded than if it were in the open; thus bad government harbours an insidious enemy, because it nourishes fatal causes unseen to itself. The simile of the elephant and the bird is obvious, the former being considered by the Malays the most stable footed of all animals, and the latter the surest on the wing—yet they fall.

VI.

A SCAMP.

"MOREOVER, after a few days came two great men from England, one as chief of the Bengal Sepoys stationed at Malacca, who took up his abode near the Trankera Gate, in that same house now converted into the Anglo-Chinese College. Formerly this was the residence of an English gentleman called Captain Dallam, master attendant, who owned it. There remained this great man by name, Mr. B——. Now, this person was of a very mischievous and wicked disposition. One of his acts was to station two sepoys at his gate to catch any boys that passed by, and bring them inside his enclosure, shutting the door after them, and in case of the sepoys not being able to catch the boys, then he set his dog after them till they fell, when they were caught hold of and brought back; and when he had collected a large number he pitched two and two against each other, and those who would not fight he would switch with a rattan, on which they would set to at each other from fear. This was so great a delight to him, that he commenced laughing and dancing; and as to the fighters, some got swollen faces and bloody noses, and as to those who bled, to them he would give more coppers, but to those who did not he gave less, and let them go. And as

to other amusements, he had no other pleasures, but only this daily, viz., to see the blood of mankind flowing. Now, all the wicked boys, or those who had run away from school, attracted by the coppers, collected there to fight; thus the place became a regular fighting ring, and no one dare to interfere; so that the better class of people were put in a state of anxiety, as they were afraid to allow their children to pass that way. But after a while he tired of the boys; but now he would have grown up men to fight, so that wherever there were poor people they went to this work for the sake of a living. In this manner twenties collected daily to fight.

Now, at this time there were not many English at Malacca, so that people looked at them as if they were tigers; and on the arrival of one or two English ships, the whole of the townsfolk locked their doors; and at such times the streets were filled with drunken sailors, —some breaking the doors of houses, others racing after the women that were proceeding along the streets, others were fighting amongst themselves, with broken faces; thus were disturbances got up, by the chasing of people and the looting of the merchandise exposed in the market-places. So if people wished to correct naughty children, they would say to them, 'Be quiet, or we will bring the drunken English to take you away.' This made them hold their peace at once! When even one English ship arrived, not one woman would be seen in the streets alone; that is not to say respectable woman, but even the very slaves kept out of the way, owing to these outrageous proceedings and egregious improprieties. By this means the people were estranged; and when an example was set by the great men, such as the officer above, people were the more terrified.

But to go on with the story of this bad officer in a high position, who set people to fight with each other. This continued for a few months, when he stopped and commenced cock-fighting. Now, cock-fighting made the place all astir, people coming from great distances with their cocks to pitch against each other. From the sea shore and from the interior cocks in twenties were brought to be slain, and many people thereby obtained money. Again, after a certain time, he tired of this sport, and took to buying ducks by the twenty, and let them out into the sea in front of his house, when he hounded on two dogs, which were very fierce, to catch them; this seemed to afford him pleasure of a sort, and many people went to see this. And what ducks the dogs could not catch he covered with his gun; firing at them with ball cartridge till they all were killed,—half being torn by the dogs, half being shot. This set him jumping with delight. A few days after this he bought wild pigeons, and when he was standing ready with his gun, he ordered his men to let them loose, one by one, for him to fire at; thus some were struck and fell dead, others flew away. Again, he bought a number of apes and let them to the top of an arsenna tree in front of his house, and shot them dead. Thus it was with this scamp of a gentleman; there was not a day that passed without some mischief or wickedness, which I need not detail, which fell on the lives of poor brute beasts or the sorenesses of mankind. Thus one cannot know how much money he squandered amongst minions. And as long as he lived in that house not a single woman dare walk in the vicinity for fear of his disorderly conduct. Now, I was the more astonished at this, as Colonel Farquhar was Governor of Malacca at that time; but notwithstanding he glossed over this man's faults, though such things are considered debased by other

races; for to their idea it was the habit of the English, and especially of the high bred: as says the Malay proverb, 'One buffalo under the mire makes all buffalos in the mire.'

Now, all these doings were remembered by the people for long, by one relating them to another, and even from one district to another."

By way of contrast Abdulla immediately gives us an account of a bad officer, whom he mentions by name, but which now cannot be of importance to any one to know. He seems to have been one of those ordinary characters whose tendency was to go down in the scale of civilization rather than to rise. His amusements no doubt were consistent with the age, sixty years ago, but whose respectability even then was on the wane. He evidently was a purely sporting character, and after all there may not have been much bad in him. A good winter campaign would have been the very thing for him,—here, in the genial climate of Malacca, his energy ran to weeds. After all, it is amusing to see Abdulla so morally indignant at a white gentleman's doings, while he sees nothing immoral in the general possession of human slaves by his countrymen. So little do we see our own faults when we are all alive to the faults of others. In Malacca, at that time, slaves were held who had been torn from their mother's breasts: husbands, wives, sons, and daughters had been separated to minister to the ease of his neighbours; yet to shoot an ape was a "most outrageous proceeding and an egregrious impropriety."

Connected with our own "social evils" in England and

her colonies, we could point out many inconsistencies equally glaring, but the reader's own sense will detect them, in their various phases, as they come across his experience.

VII.

MR., AFTERWARDS SIR T. STAMFORD RAFFLES.

"A FEW days after this the news came that the English intended to attack Java, and it was about two or three months from the arrival of such a rumour, that Mr. Raffles (afterwards Sir Stamford Raffles) unexpectedly arrived with his wife, accompanied by an English clerk called Mr. Merlin, also a Malay writer called Ibrahim, a country-born Kling of Pulo Penang. So Mr. Raffles stayed at Malacca at the Banda Iliar quarter, in the plantation of the Capitan China, named Baba Chang-lang, and he brought with him numerous European goods, such as boxes of guns and pistols, satin cloth of great value, and prints with plain flowers, and many implements of which I had never seen the like. Also woollen cloth of soft texture, with clocks and watches, and paper for writing letters thereon to Malay princes, on which were printed flowers of gold and silver, besides many articles intended as presents to them. Then on a certain day came the writer called Ibrahim, to tell of the intention of Mr. Raffles, as to his engaging another; also that he desired to buy Malay writings with histories of former times, and to ask those who had them to bring them to his house.

Now, at that time there was my uncle, whose name was Ismail Libbey, who had a most beautiful hand,

also another uncle, named Mahomed Latip ; these were at once engaged as writers, and I also went along with them daily to write, and another person, a companion of mine, called Tumbie Ahmed bin Merikan, a country-born Kling. And the object of the engagements was for the copying of histories or the writing of letters for post, or for considering the idioms of the Malay language; also poems of various kinds. Each in their departments.

And when I first saw Mr. Raffles, he struck me as being of middle stature, neither too short nor too tall. His brow was broad, the sign of large heartedness; his head betokened his good understanding; his hair being fair betokened courage; his ears being large betokened quick hearing; his eyebrows were thick, and his left eye squinted a little; his nose was high; his cheeks a little hollow; his lips narrow, the sign of oratory and persuasiveness; his mouth was wide; his neck was long; and the colour of his body was not purely white; his breast was well formed; his waist slender; his legs to proportion, and he walked with a slight stoop.

Now, I observed his habit was to be always in deep thought. He was most courteous in his intercourse with all men. He always had a sweet expression towards European as well as native gentlemen. He was extremely affable and liberal, always commanding one's best attention. He spoke in smiles. He also was an earnest enquirer into past history, and he gave up nothing till he had probed it to the bottom. He loved most to sit in quietude, when he did nothing else but write or read; and it was his usage, when he was either studying or speaking, that he would see no one till he had finished. He had a time set apart for each duty, nor would he mingle one with another. Further,

in the evenings, after tea, he would take ink, pen, and paper, after the candles had been lighted, reclining with closed eyes in a manner that I often took to be sleep; but in an instant he would be up, and write for awhile till he went to recline again. Thus he would pass the night, till twelve or one, before he retired to sleep. This was his daily practice. On the next morning he would go to what he had written, and read it while walking backwards and forwards, when, out of ten sheets, probably he would only give three or four to his copying clerk to enter into the books, and the others he would tear up. Such was his daily habit.

He kept four persons on wages, each in their peculiar departments: one to go to the forests in search of various kinds of leaves, flowers, fungi, pulp, and such like products. Another he sent to collect all kinds of flies, grasshoppers, bees, in all their varieties, as well as scorpions, centipedes, and such like, giving him needles as well as pins with a box to stick the creatures therein. Another he sent with a basket to seek for coral, shells, oysters, mussels, cockles, and such like; also fishes of various species; and another to collect animals, such as birds, jungle fowl, deer, stags, moose-deers, and so forth. Then he had a large book with thick paper, whose use was for the keeping of the leaves and flowers. And when he could not put them there, he had a Chinese Macao painter, who was good at painting fruit and flowers to the life, these he set him to copy. Again, he kept a barrel full of *arrack*, or brandy, and when he had got snakes, scorpions, centipedes, or such like, he would put them into it till they were dead, before putting them in bottles. This occupation astonished the people of Malacca, and many people profited from going to search for the living creatures that exist in the sky and the earth, sea or land, town

or country; whether they flew or crawled, whether they sprouted or grew out of the earth, it was as above related. Further, people brought books of Malayan history to the number of many hundreds, so as to nearly finish the national literature. They brought them from all parts, owing to the good price given. Thus were sold two or three hundred books, also divers poems, *pantuns*, and such like. At that time the histories stored up in Malacca were nearly exhausted, being sold by the people; and what were only to be borrowed, these he had copied.

Thus, daily, people brought various kinds of animals and moths which are seldom seen by men, such as Javanese butterflies. Then came presents from the Raja of Sambas, in the shape of a *mawas*,—which white men call orang outang,—a young tiger, birds, and other kinds of brutes from various countries. So he put trowsers on the mawas, with coat and hat complete, which made it as like a little man as possible, and he let it go, when it soon became apparent that its habits were those of mankind, the only fault being that it could not speak. And when I was engaged writing, it would come so softly up to the table that you would not perceive its footsteps, just like apes and monkeys; then it would slowly take the pen up to its neck, and when I told the animal to put the pen down, down it would put it. The belly of the mawas was large, but when the animal was sitting it puckered up like that of a sick person. So I asked of it, What ails you? when it held its stomach, as if it understood my language; but this by instinct only. There were a pair, male and female, but after they had been in Malacca for four or five months, the female died. After this the male had all the appearance of a man in sorrow; it left off its food, and in a few days also died, and I was much touched at this, seeing that even

brutes had such affection as between the sexes, and especially should we men take an example by this. Afterwards he had a great many beasts and birds, each with their cages.

Now, Mr. Raffles took great interest in looking into the origin of nations, and their manners and customs of olden times, examining what would elucidate the same. He was especially quick in the uptake of Malay with its variations. He delighted to use the proper idioms as the natives do; he was active in studying words and their place in phrases, and not until we had told him would he state that the English had another mode. It was his daily labour to order post letters to the various Malay countries to support their good understanding with his nation, and increase the bond of friendship—this with presents and agreeable words. This gained the good will of the various Rajas, who returned the compliment with respect and thanks, and moreover with presents. There also came a great many presents of books from various countries.

Now, Mr. Raffles's disposition was anything but covetous, for, in whatever undertakings or projects he had in view, he grudged no expense so that they were accomplished. Thus his intentions had rapid consummation. There were numbers of people always watching about his house, ready to seek for whatever he wanted, to sell to him or take orders; so that they might obtain profit. Thus loads of money came out of his chest daily, in buying various things, or in paying wages. I also perceived that he hated the habit of the Dutch who lived in Malacca of running down the Malays, and they detested him in return; so much so that they would not sit down beside him. But Mr. Raffles loved always to be on good terms with the Malays, the poorest could speak to him; and while all the great folks in Malacca

came to wait on him daily, whether Malays or Europeans, yet they could not find out his object of coming there—his ulterior intentions. But it was plain to me that in all his sayings and doings there was the intelligence of a rising man, together with acuteness. And if my experience be not at fault there was not his superior in this world in skill or largeness of heart.

Again, on a certain day, as Mr. Raffles was speaking to his writer regarding the answer to a letter from the Raja of Sambas, there suddenly came a Malay with six durians, with the hope that he would get them sold. So the smell of them reached the interior of the house as he stood at the door, and was sniffed by Mr. Raffles, on which he held his nose and made off upstairs. The people were astonished at this, not knowing his distaste to the smell of the fruit. On this he instantly called a sepoy, who was on the watch, asking, 'Who brought these durians? Show me that Malay.' So he was immediately ejected, with an injunction to the sepoy not to allow durians to be brought there again; and from that day no one dare bring a durian to his house. This was the first time I knew of Mr. Raffles' peculiarity in this respect, that not to eat the fruit alone, but to smell it even was most obnoxious to him. And as he went below again, he remarked that he was taken ill with headache from the smell of durians, adding, 'It is most nauseous eating.' So we all smiled at this instance of the differences of habit, which makes others long for a taste of this fruit, so much so as to be a passion with them.

Now, on a certain evening, as I was about to go home, Mr. Raffles called to me saying, 'Inchi, come and take a walk with me, as I want to see a Malay school.' On this I went out with him, and got upon his carriage and proceeded along with him towards Trunquera; and

when we had arrived at the house of Libby Abdulranark, we entered. Here we saw that three boys had been punished: one by a chain round his waist, the end being nailed to the end of a beam, and which he was required to carry: the other with a chain only, with which he had to study: and the other he had tied in a hanging posture. Then said Mr. Raffles, 'Why, O Inchi, has the schoolmaster put chains on these children? this is a very bad custom; try and ask him.' So I asked of him, to which he replied that they had run away for eight days, and had now just been caught and brought in by men from a place called Kandar, a day's journey from this. 'The father of one of them has paid one dollar for the service, and on this account I am punishing him. As for this other boy, he had deserted for two days, having climbed up a tree for that time in the forest, and this is his punishment. As for this one, all his lessons he has forgotten, and thus I order him to read.' To this Mr. Raffles replied, 'If it is so, you do right.' Again, Mr. Raffles asked why the schoolmaster did not teach Malay. To this the schoolmaster replied, 'It is the boys' own fathers that have ordered me to teach the Koran first; and when they have completed this, then can they commence Malay. This is our custom. Further, it is not the custom of this place to maintain a school for the Malay language.' Then said Mr. Raffles, 'Very good, O master! I want to know only; don't be angry with me, O Guru.' So he said good-bye, and went out. And as he was going, he said to me, 'Is this truly the custom of the Malays, O Inchi?' To this I replied, 'True, sir.' He then smiled and said, 'If I live I shall have a school set agoing for teaching Malay. I am most anxious about this, as it is a beautiful language; further, it is of great utility.' So he stepped into his carriage and returned home.

I observed of Mr. Raffles that his constant pleasure was to inquire into the condition of countries, their laws, the circumstances of their upper classes, and the methods of government. Also what the Malays liked best; their customs at marriage and death; the names of the hills and places in Malacca territory; what were the pursuits of the people; what merchandise came out thereof; also he wished to find out whether the Malacca people liked the government of the Dutch or English. In all these things he made most diligent inquiries.

Then as to his wife, she was not an ordinary woman, but was in every respect co-equal with her husband's position and responsibilities; bearing herself with propriety, politeness, and good grace. She was very fond of studying the Malay language, saying, What is this in Malay? and what that? also, whatever she saw she wrote down, and, whatever her husband intended to undertake, or when buying anything, he always deferred to her. Thus if it pleased his wife it pleased him. Further, her alacrity in all work was apparent; indeed, she never rested for a moment, but she was always busy, day after day. In this diligence which I observed there is a very great distinction between the habits of the natives (of Malayan countries) and the white people. For it is the custom of the Malayan women, on their becoming the wives of great people, to increase their arrogance, laziness, and habitual procrastination. Further, their talk is only of their own bigness, and to their apprehension it is mean to do anything whatever, or to busy themselves in any way; thus all that they do is to sit, sleep, or recline, or else order about their slaves; and as for the latter, all that they know is how to serve up meals on their knees. In the mornings they do not rise till ten or eleven, then they eat and drink, and go again to sleep till evening. Thus it goes

till they have got the name of being old;—thus marriage is entered into with great men. But to look at Mrs. Raffles, her hands and feet were in continual motion, like chopping one bit after another. Then there was sewing, which was succeeded by writing; for it is a real truth that I never saw her sleep at mid-day, or even reclining for the sake of ease, but always at work with diligence, as day follows day. This the Almighty knows also. And if I am not wrong in the conclusion that I have arrived at, these are the signs of good sense and understanding which qualify for the undertaking of great deeds. Thus her habits were active; so much so, that in fact she did the duty of her husband; indeed, it was she that taught him. Thus God had matched them as king and counsellor, or as a ring with its jewels. Thus it was fit that she should be a pattern and friend to those who live after her time. Such were her habits and deportment as above related, and of which I have composed a *pantun* as below.

Puyoh puyoh gunan nama nia,
Dedalam qualam gunan tamput nia;
Chante manis barung lakunia,
Serta dingan budi basa nia.

Dedalam qualam gunan tamput nia,
De pigek ulih Laksi mana;
Chante manis barung lakunia,
Serta dingan bijak sana.

Which may be translated thus:—

The quail 'tis certain is the name,
The pool 'tis certain is its place:
Beautiful and sweet indeed his mein,
Combined with charming wit and grace.

The pool 'tis certain is its place,
Her loving chief her only guard;
Sweet indeed her mein with grace,
While prudence claims its best reward.

For especially do we see in those men who have taken wives to themselves—if the husband wants to go up the wife wants to go down; the husband calls a thing white, then the wife calls it black. Thus they wrangle from day to day, fighting with each other like cats and dogs. There are others who, because of their beauty, tread the husband beneath their feet; thus to their idea God is very distant from the position of women of their quality. Nay, apart from their disregard of their obligations as wifes, they do not even consider it necessary to behave as friends to their husbands. On this subject I have made the following *pantun:*

Apaka guna berkein batek
Kalan tada dingan suchi nia?
Apaka guna berbini chante,
Kalan tada dingan budi nia?

Kalan tada dingan suchi nia
Pakeian Jawa de ruma nia;
Kalan tada dingan budi nia,
Iawkan dirimu deri pada nia.

Which may be translated as under :—

What is the use of printed robes
If filth and dirt abound?
To wed to beauty what's the use,
Where virtue is not found?

If squalid filth and dirt abound
In robes of Java's make;
Where gracious virtue is not found
'Sunder let the union break.

Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles was probably the most prominent Englishman in the Indian Archipelago at the commencement of this century, as he was the main instrument in perfecting arrangements for the conquest of Java, an island at that time containing about 5,000,000 of inhabitants, and of which he was after-

wards the Governor. His life was written by his widow, from which we learn that he was born at sea, on the 5th July, 1781. His early education was imperfect, and he entered as a clerk at the India House when only fifteen years of age, and where it is stated by his biographer that he showed much talent and industry. After this he was appointed Under Secretary to the new government of Pulo Penang, or Prince of Wales Island, where he devoted his attention to studying the Malay language. Here he was soon appointed as Chief Secretary, but intense application brought on serious illness, owing to which he was compelled to go to Malacca in 1808 for the recovery of his health. During his stay he mixed with the natives congregating from all parts of the Indian Archipelago; and in 1809 he published his first essay on the Malayan nation, which attracted the notice of Lord Minto, at that time Governor-General of India, who sent for him to Calcutta, and was anxious to put him in charge of the government of the Moluccas.

It was in 1808, therefore, that Mr. Raffles came under the observation of our native autobiographer, who would be eleven or twelve years of age. The personal description that he gives of the Indian statesman is said to be excellent; but I can only judge of it by the bust by Chantrey which I have seen in the Singapore Institution, which supports the written picture. He himself probably little thought that he had so apt a sketcher as the little native boy in his office. Mr. Raffles undoubtedly had the faculty of attaching his subordinates closely to him, as I have often heard Old Burrows, one of them, relate.

Malacca presents an excellent field for the study and admiration of natural history. The plumage of the birds especially is magnificent; but even the sea, in its fishes, displays not less gorgeous colours. When I was

engaged with the erection of the Horsburgh Lighthouse at Pedra Branca, I was particularly struck with this fact. As the building rose we could see further into the waters that surrounded us. During neap tides the water was perfectly clear, and displayed in its bosom numerous fish, of various species, playing about the rocks and corals. A beautiful green species particularly attracted our attention from the splendour of its tints: the colours of the others were various,—purple, blue, and yellow, with other brilliant hues, were not uncommonly seen to adorn the finny tribes; others were spotted and striped.

Abdulla notices the evident political movements of Mr. Raffles's sojourn at Malacca, which his hatred of the Dutch portended; but the latter appears to us, at this distance, unworthy of the man, and unbecoming towards a kindred and Protestant nation. Yet we must not misjudge on this point, for at that time the Dutch had sided with a great rival against our nation, and held the most powerful sway in insular India.

The durian fruit mentioned by Abdulla is famous in those parts, and much esteemed for its flavour by natives and initiated Europeans; yet the odour of it is most obnoxious to new comers, indeed, detestable. So much is it liked by the Malays, that they take voyages of hundreds of miles to obtain it, and when I was surveying the east coast of the Malay peninsula, I found numbers of Orang Laut, or sea gypsies, frequenting the little island of Pulo Tingi, where there are groves.

The account of the visit to the schoolmaster is interesting as showing the state and object of education amongst Mahomedan Malays, and the narrow limits within which it is imparted. On the part of the Arabs, who are the most influential class, education in its real

sense would not be given to the Malays from policy, as intelligence in the people would frustrate their moral power.

Here we learn the everyday doings of Mr. Raffles while he was preparing his essay on the Malay nation. If the real truth was known, the natives care as little for the English as the Dutch, and would be glad to get rid of both, till anarchy made regular government agreeable again.

The account of Mrs. Raffles is a photographic likeness of a woman I fail to remember to have seen mentioned in the life of Sir Stamford by his widow; however, in the foregoing translation she is reproduced as full as life. I have often heard her spoken of by an old friend who was the cotemporary of Raffles; and a beautiful hill in Penang yet bears her name—Mount Olivia. Further, in the works of the Admirable Crichton of the Far East, viz., Dr. Leyden, there are some verses inscribed to her. Thus she existed, though ignored. She seems to have also inspired Abdulla's muse. Under her influence he is quite poetical. Altogether, Raffles's first wife seems to have been an excellent woman, and had more to do with the elevation of her husband than has been recorded. Abdulla's similes are clever, and his admiration well founded.

Why Mr. Raffles, a poor, half-educated clerk, should have been promoted suddenly to a position that would give a salary of £2400 a year (knowing the mercenary nature of the Leadenhall Street Directors) was always an anomaly to me, till I had the cause explained, and which I will repeat in as gentle a manner as possible. The fact of the matter is, that young Raffles got a precious woman to wife and a good salary from the same disposer of patronage, whose name I need not mention. This gave such umbrage to the ladies of Governor Dundas's suite,

that both were sent to Coventry. Thus Nature, true to her principles, in young Raffles's humiliation opened the road to his future elevation. Had he been carried away by the gaieties of society he could never have studied the native languages deeply, nor could he have mixed with the chiefs so as to gain their confidence. What sympathies he could not interchange with his own countrymen he perforce interchanged with them; and by this means he established a position which a high and noble-minded man like Lord Minto was not slow to appreciate. Thus also was it with his wife. If ladies of her husband's rank would not associate with her, the wives of native chiefs would, and thus she gained in one way what she lost in the other; and by devoting her talents to the cause of her husband, she was, as Abdulla very beautifully expresses himself, the jewel in the ring.

Of the Malay pantun I must explain that the second line of each verse is put first in the next. The Malays are fond of this style of versification, and see more in it than Europeans are able to appreciate. By way of contrast, Abdulla gives us a pantun to a bad wife, not a *bad* idea.

VIII.

THE JAVA EXPEDITION.—LORD MINTO AND THE TUANKU.

"Now Mr. Raffles had stayed in Malacca about four months, sending letters with presents to all the Malay princes, east and west, when came Tuanku Pangeran, Raja of Siak, known as Tuanku Penglima Besar, his name being Syed Hassin. But as to his coming, whether he had been fetched by Mr. Raffles, or that he had come of his own accord to see him, I have not learned. He came to Malacca, bringing with him two sons; and when he arrived, Mr. Raffles received him with the greatest consideration, placing a house and garden at Banda Illiar at his disposal, with attendants, carriages, and horses. He never needed to walk, but either drove or rode, visiting Mr. Raffles every other day, to converse, and then returning to his place.

Now, at that time many English ships went to blockade the island of Java, seizing all boats and vessels that carried the Dutch flag, and bringing them to Malacca. Then did people begin to surmise that the English were at war with the Dutch, or about to commence it. At this time one or two English ships had arrived at Malacca, bringing material for this war; such as tents by the hundred, carriages and the implements of cannon, guns and powder, and such like.

Then, on a certain day, came Tuanku Penglima Besar to converse with Mr. Raffles, who informed him of the intention of the English to attack Java, mentioning the difficulty of obtaining persons to carry letters to the Susanan (native emperor) at Bantaram,* to tell him the news and learn as to his mind about siding with the Dutch or not. He also hinted that he would be very glad if he could get any one to do this service. On this Tuanku Penglima Besar rose up, and drawing his kris, said with vehemence, 'What is the use of this kris? As long as I have strength, wherever you go I shall lead: let me die before you. Write a letter, and I am the man that will take it to the Susanan at Bantaram.' Now, when Mr. Raffles heard what Tuanku Penglima Besar said, his face brightened, and smiling, he thanked the Tuanku, promising that the East India Company would well reward him and assist him in any manner he desired. So they grasped each other's hands by way of clenching the agreement as to carrying the letter.

Now, there was at that time the son of some great man in Java stopping in Malacca, at the Ujong Pasir quarter, whose name was Pangeran,† he also was friendly with Mr. Raffles. So Mr. Raffles called him, on which he came directly. He went over the whole subject with him; when the Pangeran replied, 'I would undertake to open a road to the Susanan were it not for the numerous English vessels that watch every port of Java; on this account there is no getting out nor in; and further, the Dutch are very vigilant at the river entries, and were they to find such a letter on me, to a certainty they would hang me without another thought.' Then replied Mr. Raffles, 'Don't be afraid, Pangeran, on that account, for I will give you a note in case of your meeting any English vessels at sea, and when you show

* Mataram.

† Pangeran is a title, not a name.

it they are bound to assist you; further, they will be bound to show you a place where you can land, and the Tuanku Penglima Besar can take the letter.' So when the Pangeran had heard what Mr. Raffles said, he said, 'That will do.' Then said Mr. Raffles, 'Come this night to my house, when we can compose the letter to be sent; for this work is one of importance and cannot be delayed, for in four or five days hence many ships will arrive here, and in fifteen days more the ships carrying Lord Minto and the General of the Madras army. So the Pangeran replied, 'Very good;' when he returned to Ujong Pasir. Then said Mr. Raffles to Tuanku Penglima Besar, 'Could you go in my vessel two days hence?' to which he assented; so he also returned to his house. Then when evening had arrived he again called the Pangeran, and when he had come he told him to compose a letter which he desired to send to the Susanan at Bantaram, in the Javanese language. So he did accordingly, being engaged at it till about twelve o'clock. So this was duly prepared, Mr. Raffles placing his signature and stamp to it, together with the presents of various sorts, to the value of five or six hundred Spanish dollars. On this the Pangeran returned home. Then in the morning Tuanku Penglima Besar was again sent for, and on his arrival Mr. Raffles gave him four hundred Spanish dollars for the expenses of himself and companions; and the vessel having been got ready, they prepared to sail, taking with them all the men of Siak that they had brought, also the two sons of the Tuanku. Mr. Raffles now gave them three boxes and another two hundred Spanish dollars, having instructed them in every matter, at the same time arming them with a letter, written in the English language, to show to any ships of that country which they might fall in with, whose assistance would thus be commanded. He further

enjoined that it was to be understood that Tuanku Penglima Besar was to be the captain of the vessel, whom the Pangeran was to obey; and they both were to arrange, under any circumstances, to bring word back before the fleet left Malacca for Java. 'This is for Lord Minto's information,' said Mr. Raffles; 'so return as quickly as possible; don't anchor at sea, nor tarry anywhere.' Thus, after their provisions were all ready, on the morrow, at 6 a.m., the vessel sailed. Mr. Raffles and Colonel Farquhar conveyed Tuanku Penglima Besar and the Pangeran to the shore, and both shaking hands they bid them farewell; so they embarked and sailed.

But I will now leave this matter for a time and proceed to relate about the English fleet collecting at Malacca before going on to attack Java. After the vessel of the Tuanku had left, in about five days, there came to Malacca about three or four vessels daily, and afterwards six or seven. All these carried Bengal lascars and sepoys, with a great many high people: these erected their tents from Lambongan as far as Tanjong Kling, this without break, each with their entrances. And amongst these were various races of Hindoos and Mussulmen; and I saw others, who ate like dogs, to wit, they licked their food with their tongues; while there were others who, on being seen eating, would throw the food away, and chase you as if they would kill you, they were so angry. There were others who only half heated the food, and eat it there covered with perspiration, as if bathing in it. And when they had eaten they buried the rice and curry that was over in the sand. And there were others who tied three strands of thread round their belly before they ate, nor did they stop eating till the thread had broken. There were others who took white and red earth and smeared it on their breasts, with three stripes on their arms and brow;

then they bowed themselves in front, then to the right and to the left, then to the back, when off they ran into the sea up to their navels, and worshipped the sun for some time, turning their faces to the right and to the left. Then they came ashore, and went to eat within white cloth screens, so that no one could see them at meals. But if persons should happen to see them, they would cast out their food and break the earthen vessels in pieces, buying others for the next time. Others there were who could eat before people, but they could not speak; but their mouths kept repeating the *gomita kamita* (?) and their fingers kept counting while they were eating, nor could they stir from this position. I saw many other foolish customs. Others there were who could not taste fish and flesh, or things of blood, but only vegetables. How many forms of people did I then not see, and kinds of dresses that I had never in my life seen before. And it was to be perceived that the English had provided their leaders with different dresses, some had tigers' skins for coats, others had hats covered with fowls' feathers dyed red, white, or black; while others had beasts' skins for trowsers; there were also others who had clothes spotted like leopards. Also at that time I had an opportunity of inspecting various kinds of tents; some were like houses, with their sleeping chambers, and rooms furnished with tables and chairs, also doors and windows, bath-house and water-closet, all of cloth; others were contrived so as to be red inside and white outside, decorated with various flowering.

Now, their daily routine, morning and night, was to drill them in companies; others to fire cannon, and in rank and file to use musketry. Again, others to draw cannon with big bullocks; and much was I astonished to see them fire the great guns close to the ears of these bullocks, as they did neither start nor move in the

slightest. And when the officers ordered the sepoys to run, the bullocks also ran with them; and when halt was cried, they also halted at the same moment; and if the men went at slow pace, they also did the same, as if they had the intelligence of mankind. Now, this brought some thoughts into my head. Here were brutes, that had no reason in them, yet how did they learn; especially then should we (who have reason given to us to know bad from good, but who love to sit in idleness, and refuse to learn anything of wisdom or utility) do likewise.

Again, after a few days came a very large ship, carrying troops to the number of 300 men. These were all Mussulmen, under three English officers. So they landed, and were quartered at Banda Illiar, in the garden of Mr. Adrian Kock. Many people went to see them, myself amongst the rest; and I saw them being exercised by their officers in the middle of the open ground, all on horseback, and their horses were of the Arab breed, standing high, and of the same colour of hair and beauty. And the men were alike of great height and build, and all decorated; their coats, trowsers, and hats being pearly, each having a musket slung from behind, with a cartridge box attached to the left side, also a forage bag hung to his shoulder, and two pistols in the saddle locked. And when he mounted, there were two skirts of leather binding his waist, so that he might not fall, for he did not have much grasp of any bridle, the horses being so well trained. They raced their horses as if they were flying; and neither did they fall and rise in the firing of their guns, and re-loading, or in cutting with the sword. In the first place, their officer taught them this, not by the mouth but by the trumpet in the hand. And as he wished he sounded by the trumpet, when all the horses raced with a swiftness equal to

lightning. Then he would sound the halt, when each horse would halt at the same moment in close line. The sound would be again for the horses to separate, when they would form a true square, as if they had been a fort. Then would be another blast, when the men would fire at once, as if they were one. Then they would all load again. At another blast they would sling their muskets and draw their swords. Then the trumpet would again be sounded, and they would go full speed up the hill, surrounding it, so as to have the appearance of a fort. Then would come the wood-cutters, ready with ropes round their waists, with the view to tie the wood after it was cut down; each would then carry a bundle, and in this manner soon make all clear in front of the troops. Then the trumpet would sound, when all the cavalry would rush down, like the sound of the hurricane, to range themselves round their officers, who were also on horseback.

Now, I was much more astonished at the intelligence of the horses than I was at that of the bullocks which drew the cannon; for the former obeyed the sound of the trumpet as if they had been spoken to, and this without a slip, however great the distance; neither did the rider guide with the bridle, but the horses manœuvred by their own intelligence. Further, the horses of the officers were higher than those of the sepoys; and when they had done drilling, and were returning, they did not take the horses through the gates, but leaped the fence, which was seven cubits high* (ten and a half English feet). This was the case daily. And the Malacca people in hundreds came every day to see this feat, and to witness the officers leaping the fence, loud were they in their cries of astonishment at seeing the skill of the horses—equal as it was to that of mankind—in

* Oriental hyperbole.

understanding the sound of the trumpet. Says one, This is not men's but *jins'* work. Further, the sepoys were well acquainted with the reading of the Koran, understanding the Arab language, and especially Hindostanee. And amongst them were many descendants of the Arabs of the race of Syeds. They were gracious and manly and courteous. And I asked them how the English had got hold of them; when they informed me that they were from Delhi, the Nabob's men, and the English having asked for their services, the Nabob had sent them. Then they added, 'We are three hundred, but we have left behind many thousands, all horsemen as we are.' Then I asked, 'What wage do you get?' when they told me that the Nabob's allowance to each of them was 300 rupees monthly, and that the English allowed them the same, but with a further proviso that if they should take Java they were to have prize-money besides.

Three days after this there came six large vessels, and in one of these was the General of Madras; and when it had anchored, they saluted him from the fort. And immediately there were brought into Malacca about one thousand rank and file of sepoys from Lambongan and Kalambri, preceded by drums, fifes, etc., playing. And when they had arrived they were arranged in three lines on the right and left of the street, from the sea-shore to the Government House. On this the General disembarked, when I had an opportunity of seeing his mightiness. His face was long and red, his body was stumpy, of half the usual height of men. He wore a long black coat, with a star on his breast. There were four or five gentlemen with him. Then Mr. Raffles, Colonel Farquhar, and other leading men of Malacca, shook hands with him with due respect, and just as his feet touched the shore the guns were fired, and the guard of honour presented arms as he proceeded to the

Government House. And when he looked to the right and the left he perceived the multitude saluting him, at which he bowed on either side; and when he was about to ascend the stairs, the guard of honour fired three times in succession, with a sound as if the earth of Malacca were topsy-turvy. After this all returned to their homes.

Five or six days after this came the General from Bombay, who also was saluted from the fort; and when he came on shore he was also received by Mr. Raffles as in the manner above related, only he had fewer guns given him than the Madras General got. His appearance was that of a short person, with a round face, hair white, body of moderate proportions; but he seemed nervous at the crowd gazing on him. Him also Mr. Raffles saluted and carried to the Government House; and as he stepped in, the regiments also fired as before, and then returned to their tents. Thus it went on daily, vessels continually arriving, to the number of four or five, till the anchorage was filled, like a fence of masts. This created a great rise in the price of provisions: three eggs for two wangs (about one shilling), one fowl for a rupee, while vegetables and fish were not to be had; the mud fish in the creeks, in all their filthiness, were thus finished.

And at that time, with the people of Malacca, the poor spoke as the poor, and the rich spoke as the rich, each in their own degrees in making their livings. Also at that time not a woman stirred out of her house, for the streets were defiled with men; some were drunk, others were fighting. The pings (?) were kept constantly busy in taking up drunkards; for at that time peons or policemen were not known, but only the fiscal's officials, called pings (?). All the drunkards were sent to their places. And at that time no dollars or

other kinds of coin were to be seen, but Sicca rupees only, and all these newly coined. And the Hindoo sepoys died in great numbers, because when at sea they would not touch rice, but only cocoa-nut kernel and sugar; so on their debarkation on tasting rice they were taken with bowel complaints: thus they died day by day. They had also another custom, which was to bathe before meals. They had many other complaints in them, faintnesses and swellings.

Two or three days after this, a ship was espied at a great distance, painted black, having a certain signal at the mast head; and when this had been made out by the various ships of the fleet, they all hoisted their colours, so also did the signal station on the top of the hill. This stirred Malacca, the news being that Lord Minto had arrived; and it was soon discovered that his ships had pennants. There now went out an order for every one to clean their frontages in all the streets. Then thousands, of all races, collected at the sea-shore to have a sight of him and his dress, his name being so great. After this a great noise was heard of the regiments coming in full force from Lambongan, Kalebang Kitchil, and Kalebang Besar, Batang Tiga Libri, and Tanjong Kling, these with the music of drums and fifes and other instruments, such as trumpets, mingling with the sound of the tramp of the men, all the sepoys and officers being clothed in new dresses which shone under the rays of the sun. And the length of the army was an hour's walking without break, and the men were four and eight deep, all in scarlet. And the multitude in Malacca increased so greatly, that there was no knowing who they were, but that they were of the human race. Now the regiments arranged themselves in three lines, from the sea-shore to the Government House. Soon after this was heard the sound of trumpets from Banda Illiar,

with the coming of the cavalry with their officers, which were arranged outside of the foot regiments.

Now there was a pinnace of the East India Company, which was decorated with a flag on its prow, and its crew were all in red coats and trowsers. In this went Mr. Raffles, Colonel Farquhar, and other leading men, to pay their respects to Lord Minto. And in about an hour's time he descended; and at the time of his leaving his ship the cannon roared like thunder, without ceasing for near two or three hours. The sea became dark with smoke. In a short time the pinnace arrived at land, where all the officers with their regiments were waiting, and on his stepping ashore cannons were fired from the hill.

And when I had seen the appearance and circumstance of Lord Minto, I was much moved; for I guessed in my mind as to his appearance, position, and height, that these would be great, and his dress gorgeous. I then thought of the Malay proverb: 'If you want news as to form, bite your fore-finger.' But his appearance was of one who was middle-aged, thin in body, of soft manners, and sweet countenance; and I felt that he could not carry twenty cutties (about thirty pounds), so slow were his motions. His coat was black cloth, trowsers the same, nor was there anything peculiar. And when the leading men desired to pay their respects they remained at a distance, none daring to grasp his hand; but they took off their hats and bent their bodies. And the officers called out to all their men to present arms, by way of honour. And when he landed he bowed to the right and the left, then slowly walked up the centre between the files, the cannon roaring all the time; nor did he cease bowing with his hands as related before. Now, he had not the remotest appearance of pomposity or lofty-headedness; but there was real modesty, with

kindly expression. And all that were there paid their respects to him while he waited for a little, raising his hands and returning the compliment to the poor of the Malays, Chinese, Klings, and Portuguese; and this he did with many smiles. Then did the hearts of these slaves of God open, asking for many blessings on this good sight and the loved of the people. Then thought I of the truth of the Malay proverb, to the effect, if the snake skirts (a bamboo root), it does not lose its venom, but increases it. As the Chinese proverb says, 'Is the water at the top not heaved by the water in the middle of the barrel? it is that which moves it.' So especially are great men in this age like one who lays a table; he has no office, but his haughtiness is so great, that when a poor man bows to him, even for three or four times, he does not see him. And if he has a carriage to sit in, his pride is beyond all description, he has got a rise. As say the children, 'If a monkey get a flower, of what use is it but to be torn in pieces and thrown to the earth?' Say the Malays, 'High as the storks fly, they at last come to sit on a buffalo's back.' So it is the case with the greatest of men, his end is to go under ground. But I beg most humble pardon of those great people just mentioned, if gentlemen read this my autobiography during my lifetime, and to assure them that I do not for a moment entertain such thoughts from spite or bad feeling, but only because it is our usage in our short days in this world to call that good which is good, and that bad which is bad; as the Malays say, 'A dead tiger leaves its stripes, but a dead elephant leaves its bones.' Thus do men leave their names to those who come after them. So I return to the subject of Lord Minto.

Then after a short time, having returned the salutes of the people, he walked on slowly, bowing his head, till

he had arrived at the Government House, and ascended. Then all the leading men of Malacca followed him, to wait on him; but of those Mr. Raffles was the only one who dare approach close to him; as for the others, they stood at some distance, and having presented themselves they retired, the regiments then fired three salutes and returned to their camp. Then, as the day advanced, Lord Minto first went to the debtors' prison, as well as to that of the malefactors. Some had been imprisoned for three years, others for six or seven months. And when he had arrived, and the doors had been opened, all the prisoners came forward, some prostrating themselves before his feet, others weeping, all making their plaints. On this the jailer came to keep them back, but he was requested not to do so; for when his lordship had seen the condition of the suppliants his eyes were bathed in tears, and he spoke to them in Hindostanee, saying, 'Don't be afraid; I will soon let you go.' On this they were delighted, and worshipped at his feet: they felt as they had now become princes. So he returned to the Government House.

Now Colonel Farquhar, with the jailer, soon after this arrived at the jail with the pings (?) and constables, carrying the keys to open the doors, when he cried out, saying, 'All of you come out, for Lord Minto has ordered it.' So they were all astir, and poured out with expressions of thanks, and asking benedictions on him that the Almighty would give him long life and make him victorious over all his enemies; and as he has thus leniently dealt with us for our faults, so may God relieve him in the pains of hell.

On the morrow Lord Minto next went to see the dark dungeon, and when he arrived he viewed the various instruments for torturing people, also the site of the scaffold, the stocks, the site for the gallows, and the

several implements left here since the time of the Dutch. And when he had done looking at all these, he gloomed heavily, and spitting, said to the keeper, 'Take them below and burn the whole of them ; let not one remain.' Then in a jiffy the convicts of the East India Company were brought in to remove the implements; when they were placed near the foot of the hill and burnt.

After this Lord Minto went to see the dark prison, and there he found three men confined, who had committed grave crimes—these even he let out, ordering at the same time that the dark cells should be demolished, and that a better gaol, such as stands at present, should be built; and as to the comparison between them, it is as earth and sky, for the old jail had no openings, nor even a place to sit down on, or to sleep upon, but only the bare earth. Day and night were all the same, and it was a great receptacle for filth, and those who were put in it were put into such a place as hell is. But the present one has twenties of windows and lattices, secured by iron-work, and the insides of the floors are made of flat tiles, divided into apartments, as in other houses; there are also sleeping places, with numbers of lamps kept lighted, the only annoyance being that the prisoners cannot go out when they wish; and their wives and children can come to see them there. On this account most people say that the jail is a beautiful one, for men like to be put in it, and have no fear of it, as this is no punishment. But my notion is this: that such sayings are by people who have not thought the subject out, for, to their idea, can people be afraid of punishment? It appears to me that this is the instinct and disposition of those who have no heart for their fellow-creatures. Now do not punish, for the incarceration is sufficient. Is it not notorious that a jail is a place of infamy? and

this incarceration in itself is a punishment on the slaves of God; and if, in addition, one feels that they were wrong, it is equal to death itself.

And on a certain evening Lord Minto took a walk as far as the residence of Mr. Raffles, to see the garden. And immediately he arrived, Mr. Raffles descended to welcome him; and when they came into the room where we were all employed writing, we rose to pay our respects, and as he was passing near my desk I retired, as I was the smallest there, to wit the youngest. On this he took me by the hand, saying in the language of Hindostan, 'Are you well?' and I felt his hand that it was as soft as a child of one year old. He then inspected my writing, the nature of the letters, and in a little he ordered me to write; and tapping my arm, he asked, with a smile, how I could write so quickly, because of the writing being from right to left; further, he added, 'It would be well if you were to learn English.' To which I replied, 'I would be delighted to learn English, sir.' After this he ascended the house and was introduced to Mrs. Raffles, on which he returned. But Mr. Raffles went daily to see him at the Government House. Now, as long as Lord Minto remained in Malacca he took a round in his carriage every evening, one day visiting the mosque, another the Chinese Joss-house, another the Dutch and Portuguese churches; and thus he went over the whole town, and wherever he was met, by rich, poor, or low, they stopped to make their bow, which in every case he returned, and on account of the frequency of his doing so, he kept his hand continuously to his hat, he could not put it on. He held it in his hand, owing to these constant greetings, with good-humour and courtesy, without the slightest shade of pomposity either in his manner or dress. His attendants were dressed as gentlemen, with silk umbrellas,

watches, and ordinary clothes; but many of them were very troublesome and oppressive in the markets, and the dealers were afraid of them as being dependants of a mighty person. In dealing with the people they followed the custom of the dependants of Malay princes, who do as they like with the inhabitants, and where in case of any one being killed, seven are devoted to death by way of reparation. These do not know the excellence of English customs. Don't mention great princes, for they will not do what is improper; for if they kill a man (improperly), so do they kill their own laws; for on no account can they allow by custom a single person to do injury to another one, whether great or small, whether prince or subject—all are equal in the sight of the law. Yet it is bounden in us to do honour to the great: this for his office only, and not because he is oppressive, or covetous, or a maladministrator.

Now I will return to the affair of Tuanku Penglima Besar, whom Mr. Raffles had ordered on a mission to convey letters to Java, along with Pangeran, the son of a man of influence. Three months had now passed over since they went. The fleet had arrived at Malacca, filling the anchorage; and I may state that the ships lay from Tanjong Kling to Pulo Panjang, in number one hundred, great and small, besides numerous others coming and going to the land of Java. Then there came the man who watched the flag-staff, to Mr. Raffles, saying, 'Sir, the schooner that you sent with Tuanku Penglima Besar has returned.' This news delighted him much, as the fleet was on the eve of its departure, having prepared all the implements and provisions. Soon after this the schooner anchored, when the Tuanku Penglima Besar and the Pangeran landed and came to the house of Mr. Raffles, carrying a letter enclosed in yellow cloth. Mr. Raffles sat in expectation, and

when he saw them he extended his hand to them, giving them every token of respect. Then said Mr. Raffles, 'What news, oh Tuanku; are you well?' Then said the Tuanku, 'I am well, were it not that I had been nearly stabbed, when two of my followers were killed as we landed with the letter;'—the whole circumstances of which he detailed to Mr. Raffles. Then said Mr. Raffles, 'Never mind; the East India Company will fully reward you for all your troubles; and should we conquer Java, I shall ask of Lord Minto to confer a government on you, wherever you desire that should be. But what news does the letter contain?' The letter was then brought out in its yellow cloth. Then said Mr. Raffles, 'Did you see the Susanan yourself?' The Tuanku replied, 'I saw him at night-time, when he told me that when the English came to take Java, he would be ready to assist them from the landward; but he had little time to speak to me, owing to the watchfulness of the Hollanders. And when I had got the letter, there came people from the Dutch to try and catch me; when I fought with them, two of my men being killed, and as to how many of them were killed I could not know, as it was very dark.' And as he was relating this the Pangeran was present concurring. Then said Mr. Raffles, 'The East India Company thank you greatly.' Leaving the letter, the Tuanku departed for his house. The Pangeran also returned, Mr. Raffles grasping the hands of each with great respect as they went out.

Then when evening arrived, Mr. Raffles called the Pangeran to read the letter, as he knew the Javanese language; so he came at once, when Mr. Raffles told him to open the letter. And he read the complimentary part, giving respect to the East India Company, and good wishes to Mr. Raffles; it also acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Raffles's letter, and, as requested, the

Susanan agreed to wait the coming of his friend (Mr. Raffles), when he would assist from the landward. And when Mr. Raffles had heard the intent of the letter, momentary misgiving was apparent; and when it was read, the Pangeran returned to his house. Then from the time that Mr. Raffles had heard the sound of the letter, he appeared as if he did not know what to think of it, till evening; for at one time he would take the letter in his hand only to lay it down again. Thus he went on.

Now, his daily custom was to go out in his carriage for a drive in the evening, but on that evening the carriage waited at his door till night, and he did not come down to it. The next morning I came at nine o'clock, and then I saw Mr. Raffles reclining betimes, and rising betimes, his hand still holding the letter. So when he had eaten he came below to see the people bind up the articles, yet holding the letter in his hand. He again went upstairs, but shortly he came down again hurriedly, and calling out to Ibrahim, he told him to bring out the five or six leaves of paper in the press, and when this was done, he immediately took the letter with the paper, and showed them to his clerk, asking the whole of us at the same time whether they were of the same sample, when we replied, 'They are exactly the same, without difference; only that one had the writing somewhat more cramped.'

Thereupon he at once ordered a messenger to go and call the Pangeran, who at once came. But I now perceived that his colour had changed to pallidness; and as he arrived Mr. Raffles was still holding the letter, walking backwards and forwards in the upper-floor verandah. So the Pangeran went up, and when Mr. Raffles saw him fully, he looked askant at him, and without welcoming him; so he remained standing near the railing while

Mr. Raffles was going backwards and forwards for ten or twenty times, observing him as if he would thrash him, for I was peeping at them through the chink of the door. And as he glanced at him, the Pangeran got frightened. Then Mr. Raffles said to him, without naming him, 'Is this the letter of the Susanan at Bantaram or not?' At this the face of the Pangeran was deathlike—all the blood had fled, and he made no answer. Then said Mr. Raffles, 'I hear no answer; but if you do not tell the truth, I will have you hung.' And when the Pangeran saw the fierce rage of Mr. Raffles, his arms and legs shook as he stood in such a manner as I have never seen; and as for Mr. Raffles, his colour became blue, and his hands trembled with anger, when he cried, 'You* will not tell the truth.' When the Pangeran replied, 'What can I do?' So he was silent for a moment. Then said Mr. Raffles, 'What do you say is the truth?' To which the Pangeran replied, 'I am a small man, under the authority of Tuanku Penglima Besar; and what he ordered that I did. O, sir, and if I had not done so he would have killed me!' Then said Mr. Raffles, 'Let me know how this came about: try and relate it truly, else you are a dead man.' Then said the Pangeran, 'How can I relate the circumstances, seeing that I have bound myself by oath on the Koran not to divulge anything?' To this Mr. Raffles said, 'I will not accept this excuse; relate the circumstances you must.' To this the Pangeran said, 'Very well, sir. At the commencement, we had sailed from this but twelve days, when we arrived at Palembang, and were struck by a squall from the south-east. The Tuanku then essayed to make for the Jambie, owing to the strength of the gale; but I told him of your orders not to put in anywhere, but he replied, "If so, how many of us will die? for how many

* *Lie:* as to a low fellow.

more die at sea than on land." He said this in anger; so I said, "Do as you like." So off we sailed to Jambie, and reached there in two days; and when we had arrived, he disembarked the opium and merchandise, and he, with his followers and sons, went on shore, myself and sailors staying on board. And I remained waiting for one, two, three, up to six days, but none of them returned till then; when his followers came asking for what merchandise there was remaining. Of these I was afraid, lest they should stab me. So they took the things off to the shore, where they remained fifteen or sixteen days; after this the Tuanku returned to the ship with a sour face, and in a very ill-humour, and went to his bunk to sleep; as for his men, they kept cooking and eating only, for five or six days, and went on shore again, saying, "It is a very severe monsoon this year; let us stop awhile before sailing." To this I replied, "Very good, Tuanku." So he stopped on shore this time for five or six days, when he came on board again, and ordered anchor to be raised and sail set, proceeding to a small creek, where we anchored again, and remained six or seven days. Then there came a *tope* (native craft) to pass that way, at which we fired; but it returned the fire, killing two of our men; and having fought till sundown, the breeze freshened, and the *tope* sailed away, to what part we could not tell. After that we took three *prows*, and the crews having all escaped into the water, we boarded and took their merchandise. Thus we were employed for about fifteen days. After this the Tuanku called me one morning, asking me what I had to suggest, as we would not now be able to carry the letter to the Susanan, by reason of the strength of the monsoon. I replied, "Why not? We could get on by tacking, the full strength of the monsoon not being against us." When he heard this he was dreadfully angry with

me, and his face became sour; so I was silent, lest he might stab me. On this he said, "I have got a proposal, in which I wish you all to enter." We all asked, "What is it?" To this he replied, "I wish you all to swear silence regarding it; and if any of you will not do as I wish, say so now." Then said we all, "O Tuanku, let us know what you wish." At this he pulled out the Koran, and calling me he ordered me to swear on it. So I was put in terror by his very appearance —his excessive rage, as if he would murder us all. So I thought to myself, if I do not give in he will murder me. So I swore that I would keep his secret; and all the men did likewise. When we had done this, then he said, "Let us prepare a letter to the effect as if the Susanan had replied to you." So I composed the letter, when he enclosed it in yellow cloth; and from that date he pressed on us the compact as to keeping silence. This done, we sailed for Malacca. This, sir, is the state of the case, from its commencement to its completion.'

When Mr. Raffles heard all this he scratched his ears and stamped his feet with rage, and with a blank face told him to go below to wait there; and to look at Mr. Raffles, you would take him as one under great trouble, without ceasing, for on that day it was intended to put his effects on board ship, it being the day for sailing. The whole sea of Malacca was dark with ships under sail. The town of Malacca was also busy on this account. On this day about fifty or sixty ships sailed, leaving fifty or sixty only. And about three o'clock in the afternoon there came a gentleman in his carriage to the house of Mr. Raffles, to hear the news brought by the letter from Java. But Mr. Raffles had got a great affront, owing to every one wishing so much to see the tenor of it. Lord Minto also came and was received by

Mr. Raffles with a pallid countenance. And when the gentlemen had all collected, Mr. Raffles ordered the Tuanku to be called, ordering the sentries at the same time that when he arrived his followers were not to be allowed entrance. Now, it had been his custom on former occasions to come at once, but this time he did not come till the messengers had been sent, as he was collecting his goods to be off. At last, however, he came, bringing with him ten or twelve followers, all armed with their krises, these with his two sons also; but when they came to the gate, the sepoys would not allow them to enter, but only the Tuanku himself, so they remained outside. He was thus unsupported, and proceeded by himself slowly. And as he was going to ascend the stairs, he was not permitted to do so by the watchman; but this was made known to Mr. Raffles. On this the latter descended, and gazed at the face of the Tuanku, who saluted, but Mr. Raffles took no notice of his salutation, by reason of vexation, but told him that he was a liar, and that he would have him blown from a cannon's mouth; further, that he should not stand there, as the schooner was about to sail that night. He added, 'Go you on board at once, for at four o'clock it sails: and at sea I shall blow you from the cannon's mouth. It was my intention to sail to-morrow morning, if it had not been for you. You ought to be hung here. Go; don't stand before me; I hate the sight of a liar and a pirate!' The face of the Tuanku now took the appearance of a corpse, and he could not say a word; as the stones sound in the distance, so was his sound, owing to his having got this fright. So also Mr. Raffles had received a great affront before these great people assembled, especially before Lord Minto, for he had spoken well of the Tuanku, and he would have been less sorry to lose ten thousand dollars than to have been duped in this

manner. He had been set at fault before the leading men, and so brought to shame.

Now, to my notion, he designedly told the Tuanku to make off with himself, so that he might be out of the sight of his coadjutors, otherwise he would have done as he intended. So the Tuanku Penglima Besar returned to his house; and as to the house of Mr. Raffles, it was all in confusion, owing to his intended departure, and in this confusion the Tuanku escaped by night in a swift boat across the Straits to Siak.

Truly this was a subject of great wonder to me, and it should stand as a remembrancer to all persons wanting a trustworthy agent, or who put undue faith in one. It was, however, a rare circumstance. And in this age, if there be a want of faithfulness in work that requires rapid completion, there will be cause for repentance. This was Mr. Raffles's case; but why should there be any more to-do about it? As say the Malays, 'Repent beforehand, for it is little use repenting afterwards;' and it is a wise saying, that 'A blue drop spoils the milk in the pail.' So, as Mr. Raffles was not sufficiently strict in an important undertaking, he was found at fault afterwards. But this was of little consequence, for if a crow were to bathe in attar of roses, and were it to be fed on ambergris and musk, still it would not make its feathers white —but black they would remain.

Two days after this the whole fleet sailed. And at night-time one large ship took fire off Tanjing Kling, and the cause of the accident was from a person smoking cheroots, one of which he had thrown down in the hold, which was set ablaze, so that all the merchandise was consumed; the conflagration commencing at midnight and continuing till eleven next morning, at which time the powder magazine was reached, when the ship was blown up with the sound of thunder—even Malacca quaked;

the ship then went down. The captain was on shore at the time; and when the fire was seen by the fleet, all the ships weighed their anchors to escape from the flames, and sailed. For several days after this event the Malacca people picked up articles and implements strewed along the sea-shore.

Mr. Raffles asked me to go along with him to Java, but my mother would not allow it, and with tears in her eyes she pleaded that she had not two or three sons, but only me; and I the apple of her eye. To this Mr. Raffles replied, 'Are you afraid that he will die?' To this my mother said, 'It is not death I fear, but he is yet a youth, and not yet accustomed to be away from his mother and father. I hear, also, that Java is a very sickly country, and for this reason I cannot make up my mind to part with him. To this Mr. Raffles replied, 'Very well, my lady; if my life be spared, I shall return here, and I can take him into my employ again.' So he returned to his office, and calling me in he wrote a certificate, and going to his cashbox, he brought out thirty dollars, and showing me the certificate, he said, 'If any English gentlemen wish to learn Malay, show this to them, and you will get employment;' the which I took with respect. After this he told me to go and pay my respects to his wife; so I went to her, and did as he ordered, when she gave me ten dollars, with half a roll of flowered cloth, embroidered with gold, saying, 'With this make a coat.' On this I retired, by reason of my sorrow and my excessive love for Mr. Raffles; and secondly, because I regarded his lady as my foster-parent. At that time, had it not been from fear of my parents, my feeling was to go with them wherever that had been. This was owing to their courteous manners and kind admonitions, which God alone can repay in this world with greatness and mightiness, with long life in His remembrance and tranquillity.

At the same time Mr. Raffles made overtures to my uncle, Ismail Libby, who agreed; so on the morrow they sailed in the ship of Lord Minto. And of the rest of the fleet not one ship remained in the Roads of Malacca."

The employment of Tuanku Penglima Besar by Raffles is an episode in the Java war which, but for Abdulla, would have never seen the light. Sixty years after the event no harm can come of its exposure, but only amusement to his Dutch and English friends. It is a most candid revelation of the secrets of diplomacy, and contains an excellent moral for modern tropical Governments to digest. The system of setting up native chiefs against other European powers is at best an unworthy act on the part of the white man, and much more so when a common religion binds the belligerent powers. No doubt, if we search over the world, we find abundant precedents for such acts, yet these are, on enlarged principles, abhorrent to our better judgments. Raffles indeed had to stoop to conquer; and what great men have not to do this? The escort by Raffles and Farquhar of two such scoundrels is particularly enjoyable. I presume such things must be, and always will be, notwithstanding.

The Java Expedition reached Batavia on August 4th, 1811, and gathered in Malacca two months previously, viz., June 1st, 1811. The expedition consisted of ninety sail, carrying 6000 Europeans and 6000 native troops. Abdulla would be at this time fourteen years of age. He, being a Mahomedan, shows an aversion to the Hindoos and their customs, while he paints them to the life: it is the description of the army of Xerxes over again, as given by the father of history

himself, to wit, Herodotus. On the contrary, he is bewitched with the manner and bearing of the Mahomedan cavalry, of which he seems to have retained vivid impressions, though evidently exaggerated by admiration and time.

Here we have an illustration of a common bond of union of a very powerful nature, viz., the Koran. I have often asked myself why the children were so thumped and beaten to instil its precepts into them, and the solution is, that a common religious standard—a mystery to the vulgar—coheres the masses. How do priests and statesmen use this fact?

In describing the ceremonies, like every other Asiatic, Abdulla is in his element, though these can have little interest to the European reader. The commander-in-chief he describes was Sir Samuel Ahmuty. The cause of disease amongst the Hindoos he correctly notices, and in doing so brings to our view the miseries of caste, and the practical objections to their sects being transported over the "kala pani," or sea, owing to the great privations they have to suffer. In dealing with these men this has not always been intelligently understood, and miscarriages and misfortunes have been the consequence.

The observations on Lord Minto, at that time Governor-General of India, are peculiarly full and interesting. This was Gilbert Elliot, second Earl of Minto, an eminent scion of that noble and amiable family, an honour to the Borders. How highly he was appreciated in these distant regions will be learnt from the pen of our native author. He had indeed been scanned by a young eye, yet the impressions left on the mind of the youth are apparent, and these impressions were of a large-minded philanthropy. England's honour and prestige would always be safe in such hands. But the

native annalist does not see with our eyes, nor weigh things with our mind; his old saws are strange to us, his proverbs difficult to unriddle. The snake and the bamboo root seems to be a favourite simile, and its application in this case I do not fully apprehend; but the Chinese proverb quoted seems to imply that, however high an individual might be, yet his heart-strings are moved by the people: without them he could have no mightiness, no sphere, no arena. In this way my old Malay friend Oamat's proverb was apt, which was to this effect, "What is the use of being a raja if you have no ryots (subjects)?" The habit of the stork, which flies high, is to sit on the buffalo's back and clean that animal's skin of vermin, an office apparently mutually agreeable; so high people sometimes have to come down to menial offices. The parallel of the monkey and the flower would indicate that *parvenus* misguide their wealth by not knowing its true objects, and thus make themselves obnoxious and ridiculous.

The benedictions of the wretched prisoners on the soul of Lord Minto are extremely characteristic, and provide a lesson to those who have to deal with the tropical races. Thus, while the highest authority in the Empire of India had done a most gracious act, emanating from a most philanthropic purpose, these incorrigible recipients of a generous favour will not unbend a jot in their religious doctrine, viz., that all go to hell, the Governor-General of India amongst the rest, excepting the good or elect of their own sects. The furthest limit to which they can unbend is to wish him relief in the pains of hell. Of course these poor people are not singular in such a doctrine, for even some Englishmen cannot regard their neighbours without harbouring similar feelings. But we tread on dangerous ground, and will avoid it at present. However, as a memento of this and other

high-minded acts at Malacca, Lord Minto's portrait was procured and hung up in the resident magistrate's office, where he is represented as breaking the shackles of cruelty. When I saw it, in 1848, I viewed it with great curiosity. The climate had so destroyed the colours that it might have been taken for a black Madonna.

Again, when we read Abdulla's remarks on the new jail, we have an instance of his enlightenment, far in advance of the opinions of his countrymen; indeed, they are equal to our most advanced civilization, which, when carried to extremes, ends in a morbid *old-womanism* which is unjust to society.

While Abdulla has the highest respect for Lord Minto, he appears to have been impressed with an opposite feeling towards his followers; this is too common a case all the world over, and unavoidable.

The sequel to the proceedings of the two "worthy" native ambassadors is related by Abdulla with much "gusto;" they illustrate the natural courses of two debased, unprincipled adventurers, who seem to have had cunning enough to hoodwink Raffles. It will be readily seen that their concocted story was not plausible enough to disarm his immediate suspicion; and Raffles's perplexities and behaviour under the circumstances are inimitably drawn. The portrait is to the life; the actors behaved exactly as they should have done in their respective characters. So this is too true an unveiling of one of the cast-nets wove for circumscribing the Dutch. Raffles's mortification at the failure of his project, and his rage at the unblushing duplicity of his agents, are written down just as we could imagine the actual facts. The whole of the Pangeran's confession is so circumstantial as to command credence; and we see Raffles struck with blank disappointment at the end of

the narrative, when the forgery is admitted; but his worst trial was to come in the visit of the Governor-General himself to hear the result of the great embassy. Abdulla's summation is truly philosophical; viz., repent before, for it is of no use to repent afterwards; and his simile of the crow is synonymous with the English saying, You cannot wash a black man white. Common sense is the same in all races, though the motives that impel us vary.

The influence of Raffles over the natives and those coming in contact with him must have been great, but not more so than can be attained by any well-educated and well-behaved European who likes to exercise self-abnegation and pursue a well-defined course. In later years Sir James Brooke was an excellent example of such a man. He was, like Raffles, ambitious, but for the good of the people.

But to return: the expedition at length sails, and Abdulla is left behind; he parts from Mr. Raffles with grief, a circumstance creditable to both parties. Batavia was taken by a *coup de main* under the lead of Colonel Gillispie, and Java, with its 5,000,000 of inhabitants, was conquered by 12,000 men. The Dutch and French having surrendered, the Javanese now attempted to regain their independence, but without avail. Whilst, previous to 1795, the English had only two outlying and inconsiderable settlements in the great Indian Archipelago, viz., Penang and Bencoolen, in sixteen years afterwards their flag covered the whole vast area. In this consummation Raffles was the most prominent actor. But as social subjects rather than historical are congenial to this story, we will ask how so slight an army could effect so great a conquest? Simply in this way: I have not been able to find out the numbers of Dutch and French opposed to the English, but this we may take as certain, that their

numbers would be very inferior, though the native levies might be enormously in excess; yet the whole burden of defending Java would fall on the Europeans. As between English and Dutch, the natives *in their hearts* would stand aloof; they had no practical interest in the quarrel, excepting to get rid of both. On asking a Malay friend the cause of this, he said, "An elephant eats sugar-cane, and a tiger eats kids; but when they quarrel we do not know their motives, certain it is, if we interfere we may be eaten by the one or crushed by the other, so our sense of preservation tells us to avoid the *melée*." That these sentiments are not confined, as between the black and the white races, is proved by the Commentaries of Alboquerqui, in which De Barros states, that on the invasion of Malacca by the Portuguese the Malabarese, Peguans, and Javanese favoured the enterprise against the Malays themselves.

The next subject that the autobiographer takes up is his intercourse with the Protestant missionaries, who had established a station at Malacca under the auspices of the London Mission Society. He states that these first arrived in 1823, but from the context this is evidently a mistake; for we find, in the life of Dr. Morrison, that Dr. Milne was sent out in 1813. Thus Abdulla's age would be at that time sixteen. He says that the name of the missionary was Mr. Milne, whose daughter was called Maria, and whose twin sons were called William and Robert. He got news that English was taught gratuitously, nor was a charge even made for paper, ink, or pens. This news delighted him, for he still remembered the advice of Lord Minto and Mr. Raffles, to study English, which would be of great service to him by-and-by. Of Dr. Milne he observes that his bearing and deportment were those of a gentle-

man; his conversation was polite and refined. Even in anger his countenance gleamed with mildness. He was indefatigable in studying all things, and had a retentive memory; and he naively adds, if he was taught anything one month he could answer correctly the next. This was reversing positions. A little native boy teaching an old man, on whose shoulders were placed the responsibilities of great future events. However, I presume one must stoop to conquer. The stronger mind in the long run will beat.

Betimes the native boy became attached to Mr. Milne's family; for further on he says, "As I went daily to teach Mr. Milne, the boys became familiar with me, insomuch that they came to my house to eat and drink. Under such circumstances I became fond of them, and they of me. Further, Mrs. Milne was a nice lady, drawing one's affection and regard with gentleness and sweetness of countenance."

Of Dr. Morrison, the great Chinese scholar, Abdulla says that a short time after Mr. Milne had removed to his new house, Dr. Morrison came to Malacca to stay with him, when he employed himself constantly, night and day, in studying and writing Chinese. He wrote with a Chinese hair-pencil, as is their custom. Abdulla believes that at that time there was not a single European so learned in Chinese as Dr. Morrison; and Mr. Milne got lessons from him. He adds that his only fault was that he wore the Chinese costume, for in the Chinese dress no one could have taken him for a white man! His reason for saying this is, that his manner, voice, furniture, and instruments, were all Chinese. He adds, moreover, that there was one quality in Dr. Morrison, viz., that he had the mein of a gentleman, gaining great influence over one's feelings by soft and gentle conversation, and giving good counsel.

Abdulla was at this time, he tells us, learning the Gospel of St. Matthew, when Dr. Morrison would explain difficult passages.

So much for Abdulla's idea of the learned Northumbrian. That he could see no difference between him and a Chinaman appears astonishing; but I presume the autobiographer was affected with the same obtuseness of perception that people in general have in looking at sheep—they say sheep are all alike, while the shepherd himself sees the most marked difference of features and expression. On the same principle, I have heard people remark that all Chinamen are alike; Chinamen, no doubt, remark the same of us. Abdulla expresses his astonishment that men such as Dr. Morrison should condescend so much; and as a reason for this, he explains that intelligent men do so for the good it does to posterity. No doubt this is an admirable solution of a very difficult and perplexing problem.

In course of time Abdulla tells us that he became an agent of the missionaries, to "call Malay children" to come to learn to read and write, but which undertaking soon called down on him the wrath of his co-religionists, they having taken fright lest their children might be forced, as Abdulla expresses himself, to become "English," meaning Christians. He seems to have argued and explained to no purpose, telling them that the object was *no other* than to teach them their own language, and the language of the English, as these acquisitions in after-life would greatly facilitate their earning a livelihood. But this would not do, for the Mahomedan parents got the other idea into their heads, and there was no pacifying them—the more he harangued, the more they avoided him. Matters came to such a pitch at last, that they conceived a spite against him, so they complained to his father. Upon this high words took place between

father and son, till at length the former went into his room to seek a *rattan* to flog our autobiographer; but this was avoided by Abdulla falling at his father's feet. Matters between father and son were at length made up by the missionary calling on the father and apparently pacifying him with regard to his religious scruples. After this Abdulla prospered, so that his co-religionists' spite was inflamed the more, on which they nicknamed him "Abdulla Padre," an opprobrious epithet in the feelings of Mahomedans.

This candid confession leads us to look at the principle of action on the part of the English missionaries, nor is this principle confined to their body, but I have seen it practised both by French and Portuguese as occasion offered. They, it is true, take their commission from the home societies to propagate the Gospel, then why should they pretend to the natives to do another thing? Is this honest? and if not honest, will the measure not re-act against the real object? Or, provided that the missionaries honestly ignore the gospel in their teaching, and give secular instruction only, are they doing their duty to those who sent them out? In either case there is a dilemma out of which various minds will extricate themselves in different ways; some will say the ends justify the means; others, enlighten first and proselytize afterwards; others (I have known them) resign the task, as not being straightforward. I have seen a few of the enlightened subjects of this secular teaching, and in mind and genius they were young Bengal on a small scale; they had lost what reverence for religion and respect for parents they had ever had, and revelled in full freedom of thought and license of behaviour. The melancholy address of Dr. Duff to the Free Church Assembly of Scotland was inspired by this state of matters.

Abdulla informs us that he remained six or seven years at these duties, during which time he translated many books. At length he got married, and had the honour of entertaining his principals. When dinner was over they complimented him, and desired to see his wife, when he took them in (to the inner apartments), where they shook hands with her, a most unusual thing for Christian gentlemen to do to Mahomedan ladies; but in this we see the force of the progress of good understanding. It is therefore notable.

Of Dr. Milne our autobiographer appears to have conceived a very high opinion. He says of him, "He was gentle, mindful, and helpful to me, with great kindness. These benefits I can never repay to him. It is God alone who will give him seven-fold blessings. I shall never forget him as long as I live. It was now only that I was over head and ears in debt, as the Malay proverb goes; the debt of gold can be repaid, but the debt of gratitude we carry to our graves. But the change of the world fell on him,—his wife died, and after this he seemed always buried in grief. He tired of study and fell sick, and in a short time died also." Thus a noble spirit was lost to the earth, too often the sad fate of the ardent, the benevolent, and the truly pious. This was in 1822, thus the event has been made to precede the course of the narrative.

And while on this subject, I may notice the habits of Protestant missionaries in warm climates as being obnoxious to their bodily health. As I have observed them, they generally arrive in the tropics after they are no longer young men; thus their habits are confirmed, and these, being generally of a studious and sedentary nature, aggravate the climatic influences working against them. They seldom, I may say *never*, mix in the social circles of their countrymen, which induces an ascetic form

of thought which tells in time to their bodily disadvantage. In no part of the world is muscular Christianity more required, as it supports a frame of mind that will enter into all active pursuits and recreations without abating a jot of self-respect or enthusiasm in the sacred cause; and in this respect I have observed of the French Catholic missionaries, with whom my feelings are in no way enlisted, that they pursue an active and enterprising line of duty calculated not only to spread their influence, but to preserve their European vigour of constitution. At Singapore, and other settlements, you might see them walking to great distances, under the heat of the sun, and at all times of the day and night, pursuing their calling. The consequence of this line of action has been that, while they count thousands of converts, the class-room and house-keeping Protestant missionaries have, I may say, done nothing,—absolutely nothing—in the same direction.

I do not make these comments in a hostile spirit, but as one of their well-wishers, who would like to see their efforts better directed, and crowned with more success. Amongst the natives secular education will not effect what is aimed at, it in fact does damage—as I have shown above—rather than good. It must be religious teaching, open and undisguised, and this is only to be arrived at by personal contact with the people in their homes. But the lady influence is against this consummation;—the Catholic missionaries have not this drawback, such as it is. By lady influence, I mean the not unnatural attraction to stop at home, an impediment which no doubt an exceptional few despise and get over. An unmarried priesthood, on the contrary, finds the wide world its appropriate sphere. Thus Le Favre ransacked the forests of the wild interior, while his confreres spread themselves over Cochin China, Corea,

Tartary, and Thibet, while our married missionaries stayed in the European settlements. Uxoriousness was the great fault imposed on our missionaries by their fellow Protestants, and so much am I impressed with its application, that I would advocate that no man should be advanced to the high office of missionary till he had served ten years unmarried, and had stood the ordeal with an unblemished character for virtue and self-abnegation. The pious world would thus rid itself of sensualism and save a deal of mis-spent money.

If this portion of the narrative is not the most reassuring part of Abdulla's account of the Malacca Mission, his troubles with the German missionary are at least unique. It appears that Abdulla was handed over to this missionary by Dr. Milne, to assist in translating the New Testament into Malay, the original one by the Dutch being a bad one. But now commenced a series of squabbles that upset our autobiographer's equanimity. The German's system seems to have been to first construct a Malay grammar out of the rules of Lindley Murray, and then to translate the Scriptures on these principles, which thus became a Bible in Malay words but in English idiom. This, of course, was utterly unintelligible, and the sources of constant quarrels; but Abdulla was true to his salt, and at last gave in, telling the German it was *his* Bible, so he could do as he liked. When they got to the Acts of the Apostles, the German at length told Abdulla, "that where a phrase is wrong, it is of little consequence, as these are a *mere history*." Whatever the German's views may be, I cannot forget the teaching of an orthodox Calvinist, to this effect,—that damnation would come of not believing every word. Yet here is a missionary saying many of these words were of little consequence.

So when they got to the end of their labours, we have the humiliating admittance that there were in the whole work not to be found ten phrases which were not wrong. Now I have merely the manuscript of Abdulla's work, but it was afterwards printed in full at the mission press itself, and affords the best proof that his criticisms were true.

IX.

THE DUTCH REPOSSESS MALACCA.

"THUS it was with me when a rumour reached Malacca that an English schooner had been captured by pirates between Penang and Malacca, in which there was an English lady, whom they had carried off somewhere to the eastward. The schooner had sailed out of Penang. Two or three days after this another report got abroad, that Colonel Farquhar was about to sail in search of her. And he took with him four or five natives of Malacca, with a clerk called Inchi Iabin Abdul Ujia, that is he who is named Inchi Siang. So they sailed from Malacca; and it was kept a close secret from the first, no one knowing, only this, that Colonel Farquhar had gone to seek the lady; but of this I cannot write, for I did not know the circumstances. However, after they had returned to Malacca, I made cautious inquiries, when I learnt that the English had gone to seek a place to found a new town. First, Colonel Farquhar went to Siak, with a view of getting the raja to allow of a town being settled at Tanjong Iati; but it was found that at that place in the north-east monsoon the waves were so high that neither ships nor prows could withstand them. On this account the place would not suit; so they went to Diak, but hence, owing to some reason unknown to me,

they passed on to Carimon. And when they arrived here they viewed the land and the hills, with which they were much pleased; so they sought an anchorage, but they could nowhere find a secure harbour. Further, they sounded all round, but found the water too deep, and there was no shelter in gales, owing to the proximity of rocks. So this would not suit, and they embarked and sailed for Johore, where they landed and viewed the place. But what was their notion of it? I do not know, for they again embarked and returned to Malacca; and having arrived there, a day did not go over before they created Captain David (Davis) deputy in charge of Malacca, and they sailed again in the same direction.

Two days after Colonel Farquhar had sailed from Malacca, there came two large Dutch ships and one schooner, bringing with them the Governor and secretaries, with officers and Dutch troops, also Javanese, with their equipments: these came to take over Malacca. And at that time the majority of the races inhabiting Malacca were glad of the Dutch taking the country, as they were imbued with the opinion that then they would have more easy times of it than they had under the English; but they did not anticipate that with these would come leeches that would draw the very blood from their bodies. And at that time I was in great distress, owing to the thoughts of my useless labour, so long continued, in mastering the language and letters of the English; and should these not remain, to whom could I sell my merchandise;* moreover, they would be forbidden goods. And I did not know a word of Dutch, so I felt depressed, and was ashamed when I met the Dutch descendants in Malacca, for their faces were red with joy, as their race had now returned. And many of them said to me, 'What is the use of English to you now you

* That is, his professional acquirements.

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have learnt it? but if you had learnt Dutch, there would have been some sense in it, as now they have got the country they will keep it for good.' So my despondency increased on hearing these words, and I even blamed myself for having learnt English; yet, under the circumstances, I put my trust in the Almighty, who feeds His slaves, and whom His creatures cannot comprehend. And this was not because of my knowledge of either the Dutch or the English, but because of an unexpected event having come on me.

To proceed. The Dutch that came in the above ships landed, and they remained at Banda Illiar; and the country was not given over to them, for its Governor was absent; but in five days Colonel Farquhar returned, when he gave authority to Captain Davis to hand over Malacca, on which he sailed again. Then, according to my recollection, it was at seven in the morning of the next day that the Dutch soldiers entered the fort along with their officers, accompanied with the drum and fife and other noises; also the Governor and secretaries, carrying with them a Dutch flag, and having drawn swords in their hands. These approached the flag-mast at the top of the hill, where were already waiting the English soldiers, headed by their officers and leaders with drawn swords in their hands, and drums and fifes playing. Then at the first the English hoisted their flag, with the drums beating and fifes playing with a plaintive note; and I observed that their appearance was distressed and sorrowful, like corpses, all having doleful faces. Then, after about ten minutes, they lowered the flag. Now, at the foot of the mast companies of both Dutch and English soldiers were drawn up, but each on their respective sides, and the inhabitants filled the area in order to see the proceedings. There were also persons engaged to read proclamations in four languages. They

now hoisted the Dutch flag, when their music struck up with lively airs. The flag remained up also for about ten minutes; and when it was descending, to see the soldiers of the two different races, you would think that they would have murdered each other in their wrath, their faces were so red, like tigers about to spring on their prey, each with weapons in their hands. They now hoisted both flags together, and held them for a moment at the mast-head; they then lowered them. This they did three times before they lowered the English flag, which they did very slowly; and at this period the tears were seen to start in the eyes of many of the English, for their drums and fifes played slowly, as the sound of people wailing: this moved the hearts of those that saw them. And when the English flag had reached the ground, they then read the proclamation in four languages, to this effect:—

'Know all ye that we read this for your information: Whereas the King of England, in council, has agreed, to wit, that the country of Malacca shall be made over (*srah*) by His Majesty the King of England to His Majesty the King of Holland.'

After this had been read, all the English officers and their followers returned to their homes, and the Dutch officers proceeded to relieve the English guards at the various stations.

The name of the new Governor was Timmerman Tysen; the name of his secretary, Baumhoor (?); and the name of the commandant, Myor (?), to wit, Fernus (?) The Governor went to the Stadt House, the secretary to a house in the fort on the sea-side, this with his guard.

But to return to the affairs of Colonel Farquhar, who sailed in a vessel. This he ordered to proceed towards Singapore, the reason of this being that he had been

acquainted of old with Tuanku Long, son of Sultan Mahmud, at the time he lived in Malacca. And there was a report at that time that Tuanku Long had obtained a deal of money from Colonel Farquhar, and for that he was about to give the island of Singapore to the English. From this it arose that Colonel Farquhar wished to see him at Rhio, to conclude the agreement; nor till this was done did he return to Malacca to give over the place to the Dutch, as I have related. And as to the whole that passed between him and Tuanku Long, he made Mr. Raffles,* who at this time was at Penang, aware of the same by letter. Mr. Raffles thereupon reported to the Governor-General in Bengal, who returned for answer, that the East India Company would guarantee no more expenses in settling the place than the salaries of himself and Colonel Farquhar; but if it became a place at a future time, the Company would consider the subject. On this Mr. Raffles admitted that he had an understanding with Colonel Farquhar that he should, under all hazards, found the Settlement of Singapore. After this he came to Malacca, and consulted with Colonel Farquhar; and when they had settled operations, he ordered him to return to Singapore and arrange there as he should think fit, till he came himself, he at that time being under orders, from the Governor-General, to settle some disputes existing amongst the Rajas of Acheen, to wit, Acheen Pedier and Tallo Samaway, who were about to be at warfare, when they had sent a letter to Bengal asking for intervention, with a view to settlement.

So Mr. Raffles sailed to Acheen, and Colonel Farquhar set out for Singapore, and when he arrived he landed from the vessels, having with him some Malacca

* Now Sir Stamford, though Abdulla yet calls him Tuan Raffles, which I literally translate.

men as followers. He proceeded to the plain, where the court-house now stands, which at that time was covered with *kamunting* and kadudu plants. Towards the river there were four or five small huts, where were also planted six or seven cocoa-nut trees, and one hut, somewhat larger, in which the Tomungong lived. Colonel Farquhar walked round the plain, and when the Orang Laut (sea Malays) met him they ran away, to give notice to their chief, on which he came out at once to meet him. At this time Colonel Farquhar was resting below a *kalat* tree in the centre of the plain, and when they approached they paid their respects and shook hands, on which Colonel Farquhar was escorted to the Tomungong's house, where they entered into conversation as to the object of coming, with the origin of the whole affair, till the time that Mr. Raffles had sent a letter from Bencoolen, requesting that a good site be chosen for a new settlement, now that the English had given over Malacca to the Dutch.

Now if this place would do, and the English should make a town, it would be a good thing for the Malays in carrying on their traffic, and where also all the Europeans would collect, bringing their merchandise. This was said, with much other argument and counsel, with cajolings to soften the heart of the Tomungong, as sugar melts in the mouth.

Thus answered the Tomungong: 'I am a mere castaway, my desire having taken me to Rhio, and you know the custom of the Malay rajas is self-aggrandisement. Owing to this I have cast myself away on this island, in the middle of the sea; but yet I am the inheritor of it by the Malayan law, for it is the Tomungong's right to govern the islands, for the true sovereign is dead, viz., Sultan Mahmud. And he had two princes, but they are not full brothers: one is named Abdulrahman, and the

other Hassin, who is called Tuanku Long. Now since the death of the sovereign, the leading men of Rhio, Diak, and Pahang have sought thousands of faults, as to whom should be established, by the Bindoharn, for they are both equally princes. It is the wish of Tuanku Putri, the wife of the deceased, to elevate Tuanku Long, but of the leading men to elevate Tuanku Abdulrahman. From this comes thousands of troubles: such is the state of things. Tuanku Abdulrahman has gone to Tringanu, leaving Tuanku Long in Rhio: such is the state of affairs. In the first place, however, the regalia are all in the possession of Tuanku Putri.'

And when Colonel Farquhar heard this he smiled, saying, 'My prince, all these things Mr. Raffles has well considered, and he can put them straight.' He then asked the name of the hill behind the plain, when he was told that of old it was called Bukit Larungan. Then he asked the reason of such a name, when the Tomungong replied, that when the Raja resided here in olden times, he erected his palace there, and would allow no one to go up; this is the reason of its being named the Forbidden Hill.

Then said Colonel Farquhar, 'With reference to my coming here, and the agreement which has been made with Mr. Raffles, under the approval of Tuanku Long, the son of Sultan Mahmud, of Rhio and Linga, in regard to the making over (*srah*) of this island to the East India Company for the founding of a settlement, which will revive the names of the sultans of old, and remain a sign of the friendship of Tuanku Long and yourself towards the English Company, let us two make arrangements before the coming of Mr. Raffles, as between yourselves on the one side and the East India Company on the other; what do you think of this?' The Tomungong was silent for a while, and then said that he was under

the government of Tuanku Long: if it be his pleasure, so will it be mine. Colonel Farquhar then said, 'If such be your feeling, then let us have it done in writing.' Then said the Tomungong, 'What is the use of my signature; is not my tongue enough?' To this Colonel Farquhar replied, that the custom of white men was to have a signature, so that agreements might be unalterable. He then told Inchi Siang to make out a document as the Tomungong might direct. This was done at once, to the effect as above related, *i.e.*, 'This is the sign that the Tomungong desires friendship with the English Company; and he will engage, under the approval of Tuanku Long, to give over (*membrikan*) the Island of Singapore to them, *i.e.*, to Mr. Raffles and Colonel Farquhar, to make a settlement.' This done he signed it. Colonel Farquhar then held the Tomungong's hand, and clasping it said, 'From this day we are friends, never to be separated till eternity.'

Then said Colonel Farquhar, 'Tuanku, I would like to bring the tents ashore from the ships; where shall we find a place?' To this the Tomungong replied, 'Where-ever you like.' Then said Colonel Farquhar, 'I will choose this plain.' So the people brought their boat from the ship, bringing with them tents and baggage. Then one half commenced to cut down the scrub, while the other half erected the tents. This took two hours. Colonel Farquhar after this ordered them to dig a well below the *kalat* tree, of which they all drank. And there were in all about thirty Malacca men, who watched the camp at night-time. The next morning they were ordered to raise a mast of about six fathoms in length, this was on the sea side, and on which the English flag was hoisted. But there was no food to be obtained, so Colonel Farquhar gave his men twenty dollars to go and buy food; but they could get nothing, so all had to come from

the vessels. There was nothing to be had anywhere, as there were only two or three small huts near the house of the Tomungong, and at the extreme of Campong Glam there were two or three more, belonging to the Glam tribe or clan, who made their living by making *kadjangs* and mat sails, hence the name of the place."

The home policy at length made itself felt. Thus Malacca and all the greater dependencies of the Dutch had to be given back. This policy affected infinitesimal interests as well as world-wide ones; and now Abdulla had to bewail all his past troubles in learning what would henceforth be an useless language. Further, he had to face the jeers and scorn of the Dutch descendants, who were correspondingly elated on the occasion.

Thus Malacca was returned to the Dutch, according to European convention, on the 18th September, 1818; this would be when Abdulla had reached his twenty-first year, and he gives a very animated and feeling description of the ceremonies.

In the proclamation making over the territory to the Dutch, the Malay expression *srah* is used by him. This is important, as it is again used in the deed making over the Settlement of Singapore to the English by the Malays. What is the exact meaning of that term? for in speaking to a native chief many years ago, he interpreted the word *srah* as merely allowing of temporary occupation, as long as the allowance was paid. If so, the Settlement of Singapore could not be handed over to another power without consent of the Malays. Yet in making over Malacca to the Dutch the same term is used in giving up the sovereignty over the territory for ever. Indeed, might is right in

such cases, as Bencoolen was afterwards made over to the Dutch against an express protest by the original Malay sovereign or chief, probably under similar deeds.

The word *srah*, therefore, seems to be one of those convenient diplomatic words that can be interpreted by the two contracting parties by opposite meanings. For instance, after the English had given over Malacca to the Dutch, could they have handed it over to the French, Germans, or Russians without question on the part of the English? I doubt it. Thus also stands the tenure of Singapore with reference to the Malay kingdom, such as it is. As the chief remarked to me, it was not sold (*joal*).

As a counterpoise to the loss of Malacca, Singapore was negotiated for with the Tomungong of Johore, and taken possession of, under treaty, on the 6th February, 1819. Abdulla seems to have visited the place soon afterwards, and he conveys his impressions, one or two of which are worth noticing. Of the aborigines, whom he calls Orang Laut, he tells us that "they live in prows, and they are like wild beasts. When they meet any one, if possible they would paddle for the shore, but if they have not an opportunity of escaping in that way, they jump overboard and dive like fishes. Perhaps they would remain for half an hour under water, when they would appear again one or two hundred fathoms off." This of course is oriental hyperbole, and merely conveys the meaning—that the people were uncultivated, and expert divers, which is the case. When we say a man runs like a race-horse, or that a person is as sharp as a needle, we mean no more than Abdulla meant. And here I may observe how hard one Asiatic race is on another, even though but slightly divergent. These Orang Laut are radically Malays; they speak the language, with slight variations, and they are nominally, though not

actually, Mahomedans, their primitive faith being that same fetishism that prevails in all untutored peoples. When surveying the east coast of Pahang and Johore, in 1849, I had a good opportunity of studying the habits of the Orang Laut, having there been in their camping-grounds, and also having engaged two of them to accompany me in exploring the shores, rivers, and islands. I extract my account which was published in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, 1851 :—

"At Pulo Tingi we found many Orang Laut, or sea gypsies, assembled. A large crop of durians had this year attracted tribes of them from the coasts of the Peninsula, as well as from the islands of the Johore Archipelago. Six boats from Moro, an island of that group, we found on their way to Pulo Tingi. They had travelled by sea one hundred and eighty miles to partake of the fascinating fruit. This would appear incredible were it not explained that these people always live in their boats, changing their positions from the various islands and coasts, according to the season.

"During the south-west monsoon the eastern coast of the Peninsula is much frequented by them, when they collect, as they proceed, rattans, dammar, turtle, etc., to exchange for rice and clothing. The attractions of Pulo Tingi are also of a more questionable kind, by its offering, during the season that the Cochin Chinese visit Singapore in their small unarmed trading junks, considerable facilities in committing occasional quiet piracies on that harmless class of traders. Prior to the introduction of steam vessels into the Archipelago by the Dutch and English Governments, these sea gypsies were notorious for their piratical propensities, though less formidable than Illanuns, owing to the smallness of their prows; which, while it rendered them harmless to European shipping, did not cause them to be the less

dangerous to the native trade, which is generally carried on in vessels of small burdens. The smallness of the draught of their boats, and the thorough acquaintance which their crews had with the coasts, enabled them to lurk amongst the rocks or under the shelter of the mangrove bushes. Thus concealed, they could watch opportunities to pounce on the traders whom they judged they could easily master. By these means they kidnapped, when even on the threshold of their homes, the inhabitants of the coast of Java, Sumatra, and the Malayan Peninsula, to which countries their cruising ground was mostly confined. This piratical propensity, though curbed, is by no means extinguished, but only lies dormant. The tribes, though professing Islamism, are only partial observers of its tenets; they circumcise, and refrain from eating the flesh of swine, but are immoderately fond of intoxicating liquors. They had purchased arrack in large quantities for their carousals at Pulo Tingi, and I have seen an individual of their class swallow half a bottle of brandy without flinching. Like most indigenous tribes, the small-pox proves dreadfully fatal to them; of its vicinity they betray the greatest terror, so much so as to overcome all natural feelings. While I was surveying the shores of the island in July, 1849, I learned that one of their chiefs, by name Batin Gwai, had brought the seeds of the disease with him from Singapore, where it was then raging, and was now ill of it at Pulo Tingi, in a small hut on its western shore. In this miserable condition he was deserted by his mother and family, and would have died in solitude, had there not even here been found a good Samaritan, in the person of a Chinese, who, notwithstanding he and all his goods incurred the *pantang* (taboo) for a month, attended upon him to the last, and buried him when dead. The Chinaman was a small trader, and made his living

by exchanging rice, etc., with the Orang Lauts; but they would buy nothing of him, nor have any personal communication with him until the month was elapsed.

"The Orang Laut believe that the small-pox is a separate malignant spirit, who moves about from one place to another; and those of the tribe that were located on the east side of the island closed all the paths that led to the western with thorns and bushes, for as they said, 'He (*i.e.*, the spirit) can get along a clear pathway, but he cannot leap over or pass through the barrier that we have erected.'

"We took on board of our surveying vessel two young men of the Bru tribe to point out and name the shoals and other topographical features,—Chalong and Attak, the former of rather prepossessing appearance and pleasing deportment, considering the race he belonged to, who, judging from the large collection that I saw, were the most ill-favoured of races. Living, as they do, constantly in small boats,—men, women, and children, with cats, dogs, fireplace and cooking utensils, huddled together,—cleanliness and regularity, with their concomitant comforts, were unknown. One prow generally contains, besides the head of the family, a grandmother, mother, and several young children,—these, when on expeditions, they carry to a place of safety, and the male part only proceed out. The filthiness of their habits, and coarse mode of living, generate cutaneous diseases; leprous discolouration of the skin is frequent, particularly on the hands and feet; itch covers, in some cases, their bodies, from head to foot, with a scaly covering. Their complexion is made darker than the agricultural or land Malays, and their features are much coarser. Some of the men were notable for their great muscular strength and breadth of shoulder. Their hair they allow to grow and fall down in long shaggy matted locks over their

face and shoulders; when it straggled so far forward as to interfere with their vision, they would shake it off backwards, disclosing a face sometimes the most ugly and disagreeable that I had ever witnessed; in which the symptoms of no stray virtue could be detected, but utterly forbidding and typical of ferocity and degeneracy. I could not fancy such a people to be capable of a single act of commiseration to the unhappy victims of their piracy, and could only feel pity for those that are so unfortunate as to come under their power. They and their tribe look upon the Chinese and Cochin Chinese as of no account, and are well known frequently to despatch them in cold blood, as they would spear a turtle, for the sake of a bag of rice, or a few cents which their victims may have about them.

"Though the vice of piracy may be stamped on the whole race, this development of ugliness of features did not extend to all; but it was extremely common. The women, with more subdued features, are equally ill-favoured; such as are good looking are only so at a tender age,—the exposed mode of living, and their share in the toils of their husbands, combine to expel whatever beauty they are possessed of. At early old age many are absolutely hideous; the wrinkled skin and pendulous exposed breasts, which they betrayed no wish to conceal, presented a picture by no means pleasing to dwell on.

"The two young men of the tribe whom we took on board as pilots, though necessarily upon their good behaviour, could not occasionally entirely conceal the predisposing habit of the toiler. Judging from occasional expressions which escaped from them, they appeared to look upon piracy as a highly manly pursuit, and as giving them a claim to the approval of their fellows. Thus Attak would occasionally say, the Orang (men of) Gallang do so and so, or, such is the custom

with them. He appeared to think that notorious class of pirates highly worthy of imitation. When asked to sing, he would say, 'I have none but Gallang songs;' and such as he gave I would take to be characteristic of that people. I was hardly prepared to find the songs of Gallang so entirely different from the style of the Malayan. They possessed none of the soft plaintiveness that predominates in the Malayan song.

"One day we were lying at anchor off Siribuat, waiting for the turn of the tide. It was a calm sultry day, when not a "cat's paw" was to be detected on the surface of the water, and the sailors lay stretched under the scanty shade that the awning over a flush deck afforded. One of them had opened a cocoa-nut, and in denuding the nut of its husk threw away the pieces, which floated away in a long string astern. Chalong was observed to be in a brown study, with his eyes fixed on vacancy towards the receding pieces. On my asking him what occupied his thoughts with such apparent intentness, he replied,—

"'With these cocoa-nut husks, how easy it is to take a Cochin Chinese tope.'

"'How do you manage that?'

"'Why, Tuan, we light the fibres, and they burn brightly by the addition of a little oil; each light, as it floats away, the Cochin Chinese take as a separate sampan. This frightens them so much, that a single sampan, with three men, will take a tope manned by a dozen.'

"'And how long is it since you took a tope in that way?'

"'Oh, such things were only done in olden times.'

"'But you seem intimately acquainted with the process?'

"'My grandfather told me. Now-a-days who would

think of going on a cruize? What with steamers and gunboats, the pirates lead no easy life of it; with the hand of every man against them, they are forced to lie concealed in deserted places, without food and water for days in the mangrove, tormented by the sand-fly and the mosquito, or out at sea, to be driven by the squalls and tossed by the waves. If captives be taken, there is no disposing of them now for their value in dollars,' continued Chalong. 'I have heard of a junk full of Chinamen redeemed at Sangora for a cutty of Java tobacco each, and a few sugar-canes; even this was something, but now-a-days, if the goods be taken, the life must be taken also, to save our own necks.'

"'It is to be hoped that you will not follow the example of your forefathers.'

"'Oh no; we have all become good people now.'

"'Do you venture far out to sea in your small boats?'

"'Yes, we occasionally cross to Borneo. If heavy weather comes on, our prows are clever at sporting with the waves; and when they cannot bear any sail, we cast out our wooden anchor, with a small scope of cable, so as not to touch the ground, and sit quietly till the squall is over.'

"These tribes—and I have found it to be the case with the natives in the interior of the Peninsula, who are nearly equally low in the scale of civilization—in a certain measure look upon the powerful lower animals as their co-equals. They have constant reason to dread their physical powers, for they daily cross their path. In the rivers the alligator frequently snatches its victim from the small river-canoe, and in the forest they have equal cause to beware of the tiger, elephant, rhinoceros, and bear. These people, almost equally with the lower animals, are entirely employed in searching for food; they seem hardly cognizant of the fact that the reasoning

power of man, when exercised, places him far above the lower scale of creation. Thus the Malay of Kiddah, when crossing the print of the foot of a tiger, will tell you, "Say nothing bad of him, he does not eat men, for he is holy—he is our grandfather!" Elephants, so useful to them in carrying them across their wild and difficult country, they will at times acknowledge to have more sagacity even than themselves, and with that animal and themselves they frequently institute a comparison; their constant theme is how they compassed them when meeting wild ones in the jungle, and so forth.

"We found the shark to be regarded with the same feelings by the Orang Laut. Thus, one day, on noticing a shark following our track, Chalong remarked,—

"'We Orang Laut are not afraid of sharks. I have never known an Orang Laut to be taken by one, though our occupation leads us constantly into the water, in diving for shells and corals.'

"'How do you account for that?' said I.

"'Why, Tuan, sharks are our brethren; they are sea pirates like ourselves; so they know better than to meddle with us.'

"Then said I, 'I presume that the land pirates, meaning tigers, will be equally friends?'

"'No, Tuan,' said he, 'our tribe know the contrary to our cost; not long ago my uncle, when fetching water at Tanjong Moran, was set upon and killed by no less than eight tigers—they are our enemies.'"

Such was the people amongst whom Colonel Farquhar settled himself down on the plain at Singapore, guarded only by his thirty Malacca Malays. I have thought I would not be wrong in adding to Abdulla's description one of my own, drawn from life. While describing the inhabitants, Abdulla also describes the animals, which in his eyes appeared to be no less savage;

for of the rats he says, they abounded in incredible numbers, all over the island, and were nearly the size of cats, on whom they seem to have turned the tables, for in his house, in which he kept a cat, he was awoke by a great squalling, the cause of which soon appeared, after a torch had been lit, in six or seven rats surrounding poor pussy, some holding her by the ears, some by the legs, and some by the chops, so that she could not move nor do anything else but scream. And when the cat saw him it increased its screaming, and was only relieved by a number of neighbours collecting with sticks to beat the monsters off.

X.

AN ACTIVE TOWN-MAJOR.

"I NOW return to the affairs of Malacca since it had been made over (*srah*) by the English to the Dutch. It became a daily practice to overturn the customs, regulations, and laws of the English, to the great oppression of the poor; people were constantly fined, the jail was filled to repletion. No one could dig a new well but they would be sent to jail for it. People were also incarcerated for building new houses. And as to the secretary, named Maumboor (?), he rode about every night, and should he then catch sight of the least bit of rubbish near people's houses, he would fine them ten or twelve rupees. And if there were a dead fowl or rat in the street in front of a house, the owner would be fined twelve rupees. Further, if any of the sailors in the native vessels should throw anything overboard, they would be sent to jail for doing so. Thus the people of Malacca were in great trouble at this time; all swore that the Dutch, as they went their rounds in their carriages daily, would fine them for nothing at all. So when they came out of the fort in this manner, or riding on horseback, all would run off as fast as they could to their houses, and taking their besoms, they would sweep their frontages, for fear of the fines; so, when they were going along, the street would be chock full of sweepers, to the right

and the left, making tumultuous noises. Thus it went on from day to day, till people called the secretary Mister Sweep (*peniapu*). And when people spoke of him they knew him only by that name. And all races cursed him and called him bad names. Knives and choppers may be blunt, but the mouths of mankind are very sharp.

Now as to the ways and doings of the Dutch, in every respect let them be known; and I have great pleasure in this respect, so that I do not tarry in abusing the country itself, whether in regard to its houses, or eating, or drinking; and in its very truth I should relate the same to the Malays or to other races. The doings of the Dutch at Malacca exceeded what I have set forth; and from day to day their oppressions increased. Owing to this the slaves of God were roused, though they had not the fortitude to turn on them, further than by praying to God and asking His will. But three or four months had not passed before Mister Sweep fell ill, as if he had become mad, sitting trembling and crying, and saying that people were beating him. Many doctors prescribed for him without avail, nevertheless on he went crying. And when left alone he would dash himself down here and there, as if he would run away; and one night he cast himself from the upper floor down to the road, and killed himself, thus bringing infamy on himself. The moral of these things is, that they should be taken as an example by people of like propensities; for God will surely bring retribution on them, not by beating them with a rod or a stone, or by arms, but by bringing evil on those who do evil, and good on those who do good.

Then when all the people of Malacca heard that Mister Sweep had died, they all held their hands upward to heaven, saying, 'Amen, O Lord!' Was it not enough that the Hollander had died before the evil of the

country was removed? When the Sweep died, his wife and children sailed for Batavia, but rumours arrived that on the way his wife died also.

We now heard news that a settlement was being formed at Singapore. Many did not believe this; others said the rumour was false, suggesting that they had merely touched at the place to look at it; others, again, said it was impossible to make a town there, as it had been cursed by the deceased of olden times. Again, it was suggested that, if the town was to be formed by the English, they would break down under the great expenses; they were not such fools as to throw away money. Such were the various opinions amongst the Malacca folks. They had clever tongues, but this did not help them.

Three or four days after this, a sampan came with news that Colonel Farquhar was at Singapore now, founding a settlement, and with him many Malacca Malays; directions also had been given to urge people to send provisions, such as fowls, ducks, fruits, and the like, for which they would obtain great profit. Yet many people did not believe in this. On the morrow and day after, another sampan arrived, bringing a letter from Colonel Farquhar to his agent, ordering him to send his effects. There were also letters from the people that were with him, urging people to send provisions as above, telling them at the same time that Colonel Farquhar was there, and that he had hoisted the English flag, though the arrangements for taking over the country had not been completed, as they could not be settled till Mr. Raffles arrived. So when the people heard this, they were willing to carry provisions. But at that time there were petty pirates, who would take fowls and even fishing boats from the anchorage at Malacca, going east and west without hindrance from the Dutch. On this account

half the people were afraid. Yet others went, taking the risk for the sake of the great profits; and when they got to the Straits of Singapore, their profits were fourfold. This came to the knowledge of others, when all took heart to take goods; others went to seek labour, others for shopkeeping.

The news was now abroad; so when the Hollanders heard of the intended settlement by the English at Singapore, they anticipated that it would make Malacca a desert, and when they perceived the traffic in provisions, ducks, and fowls, they got angry and stopped it, not allowing a single thing to go out. So when a boat was about to start, they seized it. Many thus sustained losses from these seizures. When the people saw this, they tried by stealth; yet they were found out, when they had their goods taken from them, and were imprisoned and fined.

Now, a gunboat was set to blockade the Malacca river, with orders to lay hold of any prow about to sail for Singapore; yet many tried to get away, but their goods were forfeited, while others eluded seizure. These latter were sometimes met by pirates, who killed all; but if the sailors could jump out and swim, the prow alone was taken. Thus twenties of prows belonging to Malacca at that time were seized, the men only getting back with the clothes on their back; others were lost, and others carried off to other countries to be sold as slaves. Again, some prows had their goods only taken out of them, and the crew rowed them back; some fought and got away, though many were killed on both sides. Such was the state of things,—all from the love of profit.

The people coming and going at that time were also in great terror of the Straits of Cocob, a place infested with pirates. They kept on the look-out there, as it

is like a room, as no wind could affect them; so, on account of the shelter, it was often run for, when they were at once seized on; for the pirates could see them, and lie at the same time concealed. Thus were piracies easily committed. And about this time there were about forty young Malacca Malays of the Company Java, who were proceeding to Singapore in a boat, who were never heard of—all having been murdered—not even the breath of them, as they had all fought, and thus incurred the spite of the pirates.

Hundreds more found their way to Singapore, fleeing from the punishments in Malacca, and the want of employment, combined with the oppression of the Hollanders; some laboured at wood-cutting, others at house-building, others shopped, each to their business. Yet they were in trouble as to whether Singapore would be a success or not. To live at that time also was a great difficulty,—a fowl cost two rupees; a duck one dollar, and not to be got; an egg, a wang (12½ cents or 6½*d.*), a Jambu, five doits (halfpenny). Money was easy, but food scarce, owing to the Hollanders forbidding the prows to come from Malacca. If one did manage to come, then the crew would conspire to set on prices at which no one could buy. Thus one pine-apple would cost seven wangs (3*s.* 9*d.*), one durian two rupees. I myself have bought durians which were not perfect. Furniture was also very dear.

To proceed. By the will of the Almighty the Dutch Governor of Malacca, Timmerman Tysen, died, when the punishments, seizures, and fines were lessened. The people of Malacca also ceased their cursing; they now had breathing time given them, as the regulations became less strict. But he died in bad odour, for there were many rich men of the place whom he had impoverished, by his borrowing money from them—he was

in debt all over the town—the Company's * interest (*i.e.* the Dutch Government) was much deteriorated and wasted. And after his death his effects were sold by public auction, with house and furniture, but they did not meet one-tenth of his debts.

The Malacca people were now as dry (impoverished) as fish after being baked in the sun, owing to the difficulty of finding a livelihood. No merchant prows came in, English ships did not call, and capitalists lived on their capital only. The people lost heart, as their houses, mothers, fathers, children, and wives were idle. If they had not had these, they would have flown from the place at once. Rice also rose in value, so that the people became much pinched. But they gave earnest love and praise to Him who is abundantly good to His slaves, for in their straits He had brought about an event, that is, in the English founding Singapore, by which the Malacca people obtained subsistence—the rich obtaining their riches there, while the poor got their little also, so that all breathed, all in their various degrees.

Even though they brought rubbish from Malacca to Singapore at that time, they could make money of it, but more especially with the better class of goods, as other countries had not heard of the settlement of Singapore. For this cause prows were not sent to it. But with this the piracies on fowls and ducks increased, unless they were carried in large prows well armed with brave crews. Nor were there many owners of prows in Malacca, as there are at present, such as of ketches, topes, schooners, and the like; indeed, at that time few had them, and freights were high,—the passage-money being three dollars a head, food not provided. Many also were of opinion that the affair of Singapore would be for the time only, and never to be established, for they were led

* Company is by the natives confounded with Government.

by the Hollanders' assertions in Malacca that it could never rise."

The Malacca people had evidently not tasted of the oppressiveness of modern municipal corporations, and no doubt, under the English, they had Bengal convicts to clean their doors without expense to them; their position as citizens being thus a highly favoured one. No doubt citizens living under modern municipal corporations have this comfort, such as it is, viz. that while being squeezed they can say they themselves voted for their oppressors; but it was not so with the Malacca people, they had the oppressors (lenient ones, no doubt, if we may judge from our own experience) assigned to them by an independent authority. This is where the shoe really pinched; and further, which aggravated the case, Mr. Town Major Sweep would have the credit, in native eyes, of putting all the fines into his own pocket, and not into the capacious chest of a corporation. Thus I have noticed that when a bully, a drunkard, an owner of a stray goat or a cow, the driver of a runaway horse, has had to pay down one to five pounds by way of fine and supplement to the Mayor's salary, they have shown no revengeful feeling; for was not that same exacting Mayor put in office by their and their fellow citizens' votes? but here in Malacca, the renowned city of the East, the citizens could not even take this salve to their wounded souls or pride, nor, as Abdulla expresses himself, had they the fortitude to turn on their oppressors.

Here, then, we have the relative advantages and disadvantages of autocratic and representative government clearly brought out. The former may be lenient, yet the people hate it; the latter may be oppressive, yet they love it. With autocratic governments, therefore, slow-

burning discontent, well concealed, long smoulders till it bursts forth without warning as a volcano. Is not this a mimic illustration of the Sepoy rebellion in British India, though the causes are not so deep or so protracted?

Abdulla well describes the doubts of people in the success of a new colony, and the petty jealousy of small settlements. The dangers of the passage are not overstated, and the Strait of Cocob is depicted quite in accordance with its notoriety. I surveyed this passage in 1845, and no place could be more admirably fitted for piracy. The Island of Cocob is covered with mangrove bush, and shallow flats prevent any approach by large vessels; thus, to follow the pirates into the shallows or the thicknesses of the forest would be impossible; but since those days the introduction of steam has alleviated the troubles and disasters of the small traders greatly, though piracy can never be entirely eradicated.

It used to be a subject of great astonishment to us to see such men as Hume, Cobden, and Bright supporting the piratical interest against Sir James Brooke. No doubt they did this with the best intentions, though it is wonderful how minds become perverted by distance and want of practical knowledge.

Abdulla, in continuation of his narrative, details the negotiations between Sir Stamford Raffles, after his arrival at Singapore, and the native chiefs, for the final giving over of the territory, in which there cannot be much public interest.

XI.

THE SINGAPORE INSCRIPTION.

"Now Mr. Raffles and Colonel Farquhar consulted about extending the town of Singapore, when the latter thought that Campong Glam was the direction for the mercantile part and the bazaars; but Mr. Raffles opined that the other side of the river was the proper site. To this Colonel Farquhar objected, the place being nothing but swamp, with bad water; and, besides, the cost of raising the land would be great. To this Mr. Raffles replied, that if Campong Glam were made the place for merchants, the other side would be a mere waste for hundreds of years, and not even then improved. Thus they were full of thought, one saying this, the other that; each devising plans. So they thought over this for three days, when it struck Mr. Raffles that he might cut down the hill near the Point, and spread it on the marsh. So Chinese, Malay, and Kling coolies, to the number of two or three hundred, were set to dig and carry the earth; others were set to break the rocks, which were here very plentiful and large. So each set to their special work as if a battle were raging.

Now, at this time the price of labour was high, viz. one rupee a day. So at night a bag was required to carry the money for the payment of the labourers, and Mr. Raffles himself visited the works, to give directions

to the overseers who had charge of the men. Nor was Colonel Farquhar idle, being on horseback every morning, seeing that the land was sectionized far and near, which he sold by auction, or else gave away; for all was under forest,—the object being to get it cleared. Now Colonel Farquhar suggested that I should take a bit for myself at Campong Glam, as he thought it would be the mercantile quarter; so I took me to place a house thereon with plank walls, but I remained there under constant fear, as I was surrounded by forest.

But to return to the subject. It was three or four months before the hill was removed and levelled, and the hollows filled up. Yet there remained some stones as big as elephants, and some were even bigger; these proved of great use, for they were split up by the Chinese, and used in building their houses, thus causing no expense, as they were glad to get them. And at that time people found a flat and smooth stone at the Point, about a fathom square. This was covered with cut letters, but which no one could read, as it had been decayed by the action of water for many hundreds or thousands of years. And people of the various races assembled to see it,—the Hindoos saying it was Hindoo, but they could not make it out; the Chinese said it was Chinese. And I went with Messrs. Raffles and Thomsen to see it, and I took the letters to be Arabian; but they were not decipherable, as the stone had been so long exposed to the tides. Many clever men went to read the inscription, some bringing paste with them to press into the hollows, and then raising the mould; others brought black ink, smearing the stone to make the letters clearer;—all expended their abilities in trying to make out the language and characters, but could not do so. So the stone remained there, under the action of the tide, when Mr. Raffles, in consultation

with me, arrived at the conclusion that the letters were Hindoo, for that race was the earliest to come to these countries under the wind (*i.e.* eastward), first to Java, Bali, and Siam. All these are descendants of the Hindoos, yet none could find out the tenor of the inscription.

Then after they had filled up all the soft places, swamps, mud, and gutters, they surveyed it and sold it by auction; and if any one would know the site of the hill from whence the earth was taken, it was at the point of Singapore where now the garden is (in Commercial Square), and in which all kinds of flowers are planted. And I have heard that it was the intention of the inhabitants to erect on this site a statue of Mr. Raffles, in memory of his great deeds; but why this should not have been done I know not the reason thereof. The site is just opposite the premises of Mr. Spottiswoode (Spottiswoode & Connelly)."

Abdulla here relates an incident at the origin of the settlement that I have often thought of, viz., why Sir Stamford should have chosen for his relatives Section No. 1 on the Singapore side, and Colonel Farquhar Section No. 1 on the Campong Glam side. It will appear they had different views as to the future extension of the town. Besides this, Colonel Farquhar chose suburban property, on which he planted many valuable fruit-trees of various kinds; but, like many public-spirited men, he had to part with it on leaving. All these properties must now be very valuable.

Mr. Thomsen, the German missionary here mentioned, and so much commented on by Abdulla, seems to have come to Singapore at a very early date. Before I arrived in 1838 he had left, but I went over the remnants

of his mission labours, which here took the shape of a model farm, in which Malay boys were supposed to be taught industrious habits. The site was fixed at Tullo Blanga, on the most barren soil imaginable, in which cloves had been planted; but when I saw the place only one or two trees were living, and the whole of the property was in a great state of neglect. There was plain evidence that the good missionary's efforts had been unsuccessful, for after spending about 15,000 dollars, the place was sold to a Chinaman for 300 dollars only. It is hard to fight against nature. Is Colenso right in saying we must humour it if we are to succeed?

The stone mentioned by Abdulla was broken to pieces in a most vandalic manner by the local engineer, whereas by a little care it might have been saved. I have often scanned the remnants of the inscription with great curiosity, but could make out none of the letters. It was a very rare piece of antiquity, and I understand that Prinsep was of opinion that the characters were obsolete Hindoo.

A bust by Chantrey is all that Singapore possesses as a memorial of Sir Stamford Raffles. It is, I need not say, an excellent one.

The narrative continues to say that Sir Stamford advised Abdulla to buy sections, which advice he stupidly did not follow.

XII.

AN AMOK.

"I NOW proceed to the subject of Colonel Farquhar having been stabbed. The origin of the fact was thus:—There was a Syed, a native of Pahang, named Syed Essen, who traded between that place and Singapore, and he had goods on credit from Pangeran Shirrij Omer, a native of Palembang. Now he was in debt to Syed Mahomed Junid 400 dollars, and to the Pangeran about 1000. And when he came to Singapore the Pangeran asked him for the money, at which he was annoyed.

So a summons was issued, and the claim tried before Colonel Farquhar, who inquired into the matter, when it was decided that the debt amounted to 1400 dollars. So Colonel Farquhar told Syed Essen that he had decided that his debt was as above, and asked him what he had to say in the matter. To this Syed Essen replied, that he had no money at the time, but that he would pay it next year. To this Colonel Farquhar replied, that it did not rest with him, but with the Pangeran, and that if he would put it off it could be done. Then the Pangeran said, 'I cannot do so, as I have to settle accounts with Syed Mahomed Junid.' Then said Colonel Farquhar to Syed Essen, 'If you can give security I can let you go; if not, I must imprison you.' To this Syed Essen replied, 'Where can I get security, as I am a stranger?' On this

the Pangeran said, 'If he don't find security, then I would ask that he be imprisoned, for I know he has money, only he will not pay me.' So the Pangeran went away.

The magistrate, Mr. Barnard, then carried Syed Essen to prison. This was about two o'clock in the day, and it was not thought of to examine him for weapons—for he had a kris hid under his coat. At about five in the evening, he solicited Mr. Barnard to allow him to see the Pangeran, to try if he could not prevail on him to give him credit. This was granted, a peon who was a Hindoo, following him in charge.

It was about evening when they entered the fence of the Pangeran, his determination being, to kill him. The Hindoo remained at the outer door, Syed Essen alone entering; and when the Pangeran saw him coming, with an altered face he ran into the inner rooms, locking the door after him and getting out of the back door on the sea-shore, when he made for the house of Colonel Farquhar, telling him of the Syed's rushing at him with a drawn kris. The day was now spent.

So Syed Essen waited a little, to see if the Pangeran would come out again; but seeing he did not, he came out himself, and approaching the peon, he was told to be quick, as night was drawing on. On hearing this he stabbed the peon, who at once fell dead near the outer gate. Syed Essen then returned into the house of the Pangeran, seeking him again to kill him; but the Pangeran at this time was in Colonel Farquhar's house, afraid to return.

This was about seven in the evening. And I just at that time was on my way to teach Mr. John Morgan the Malay language, and as I was in the middle of the road I met Colonel Farquhar with his son, Andrew Farquhar, and son-in-law, Captain Davis, accompanied by four sepoys armed with guns; also one carrying a

pole in the front. The Pangeran was with them. And when Colonel Farquhar saw me he said, 'Where are you going?' I told him I was going to the house of Mr. Morgan. So he said, 'Don't do so; but come along with me, for there is an amoker near the Pangeran's house.'

So I approached him, and went along with him to the Pangeran's house, where we all entered the fence that surrounded it, but found no one. Then said Colonel Farquhar, 'Where is this Syed Essen?' To this the Pangeran replied, that he was here shortly ago, but now no one can see him, yet there is the peon dead at the gate. I went in myself, and had come out when Colonel Farquhar also came out into the main road. He thought a little and then went into the house to search again, but came out again. This he did three times without meeting any one.

Now, when Syed Essen saw a number of people coming, he went below the public hall and hid himself there. The public hall was in the centre of the lawn, which was thickly covered with mangostan trees; thus he had not been seen. So Colonel Farquhar came away as far as the bridge, where I followed him, as I wanted to see the end of the affair. Then suddenly a thought struck Colonel Farquhar to go back to the house; so we all returned and entered. Now, when we had got to the centre of the lawn, Colonel Farquhar pushed his stick under the public hall or summer-house—I being near to him—on which Syed Essen unexpectedly thrust his arm from below the verandah, and with a crouching spring stabbed Colonel Farquhar in the breast, just over the nipple, the kris passing through the cloth coat and shirt, which were covered with blood. On this Colonel Farquhar cried out that he was wounded. I ran to him and saw his coat covered with blood, and as

I approached he fell, so I held him. Now Andrew Farquhar, the son, had a sword in his hand; with this he struck the Syed in the mouth, cutting his face as far back as his ear. After this the sepoys rushed forward and thrust him through with their bayonets; on this they threw down their muskets and ran away. And when Captain Davis saw this he went off to the sepoy lines; but Syed Essen by this time was dead. Colonel Farquhar could not walk from loss of blood, and of the people that remained there was myself, Andrew Farquhar, and the man with the pole; so we supported him till we got to the house of Mr. Guthrie, where we laid him on a sofa.

Now there arose a great consternation, people running hither and thither, when his daughters arrived in great grief and lamentation. With these Doctor Montgomerie came also. He took out a silver needle and probed the wound, when he told the daughters not to cry, as the wound was not deep, but merely a flesh one, and that he would soon be well; he at the same time put a smelling bottle to his nose. This eased him, his coat was now opened and the blood washed, and medicine placed on it.

The people had now assembled so as to fill the place where Syed Essen lay, and every European (orang putik, or white men) stabbed at and cut the corpse of Syed Essen till it was in shapeless pieces. On this two or three hundred sepoys came in haste, not having time to put on their clothes,—some coatless, others without their inner clothes, and some naked,—but all carrying muskets and cartridges either over their shoulders or hips; they also drew behind them twelve cannons, all primed, and surrounded the fence of the Tomungong, placing the guns there in position. There were also men ready with the match to let off the guns, on getting orders to do so. Captain Davis ran along-

side of the sepoys here and there. This was the time that there was no moon at nights, so torches, candles, and matches were lighted by the hundreds; so there was a great commotion in all the people of the other side hastening across the river, but there was not a single Malay to be seen, all having been chased away by the sepoys.

At this point Mr. Raffles also made his appearance in great haste. Leaping out of his carriage, he sought Colonel Farquhar, and when he saw that he was not killed, he then went to see the corpse of Syed Essen. At the same moment a person was bringing fire, with the intention of taking it into the Pangeran's court, when he stumbled over the legs of the dead peon which was lying at the front gate; there was on this another hubbub about his death. Now Mr. Raffles took a candle to view the corpse of Syed Essen, and he asked of the people assembled, 'Who is this?' But no one knew him. He now came to me and asked me if I knew who it was. I told him no; but that I had been acquainted with Syed Essen when he was carrying on his suit with the Pangeran, but his body was so cut up that I could not know it to be his. I perceived that Mr. Raffles at first suspected that the Tomungong's followers had stabbed him (*i.e.* Colonel Farquhar). Captain Davis now came several times to Mr. Raffles, asking for sanction to fire the cannons, but he was ordered to wait. Mr. Barnard now came running from the other side, and when he saw the peon's body, then he recollected of his having been sent with Syed Essen to see the Pangeran. He then hastened to see the corpse of Syed Essen, when he sickened at the fault he had committed. So he went forward to Mr. Raffles, and saluting him, told him that the corpse was that of Syed Essen, adding, 'He a short time ago asked me to allow him to see the Pangeran

about his debt, when I consented, the peon being in charge.' And when Mr. Raffles heard this, his eyes flashed fire with rage, and clenching his fist in the face of Mr. Barnard, so as to knock off his hat, he said, 'Have you care, sir; if Farquhar dies, I shall hang you in Singapore.' At this Mr. Barnard bent before him and asked his forgiveness.

Now for the first time did people know that the dead man Syed Essen had stabbed Colonel Farquhar, and not the Tomungong's followers. So Mr. Raffles again went to see Colonel Farquhar, who could now speak a little, the doctor still being in waiting. Mr. Raffles again came down and ordered a blacksmith to be called, and four at once came, when he scored on the sand with his finger a thing like a barred box, about the height of a man, saying, 'Let me have this done by seven to-morrow morning,'—which they did accordingly.

At length they took Colonel Farquhar to his house, helping him into his carriage, all the people going along with him. Mr. Raffles also ordered Captain Davis to take back the cannons, with the sepoys. After that four convicts came and tied a rope to the feet of Syed Essen, and carried the corpse to the middle of the plain, where there was a guard of sepoys, and they threw it on the ground.

On the morrow Mr. Raffles went to the house of Colonel Farquhar and sat there, when Sultan Hussain Shah and the Tomungong, with all their councillors and chiefs, came; also all the English merchants, and the men of all races in thousands. And after they had gathered together, Mr. Raffles seated himself on the bench, asking of the Sultan and Tomungong as to the laws of the Malays regarding a subject drawing the blood of his Raja or Governor. Then the Sultan replied, 'Such a crime by a subject is punished

by the execution of himself and his wives and children; he is cast out fròm his people, the pillars of his house are overturned, it is thrown to the ground, and the vestiges are thrown into the sea.'

When Mr. Raffles heard this, he dissented to the judgment as being unrighteous, saying, that to him who does wrong should the punishment come; so why should the wives and children be punished, who knew nothing of the offence? Then he said, 'O, Sultan, Tomungong, and all ye that are here assembled, hear what is enacted by English law. The murderer according to it shall be hung; and if not alive, the corpse is hung, notwithstanding. And to the wives and children, the East India Company will give allowances, till they have married again, or the children have become old enough to seek for themselves. Such is the custom of the white people.' Then at the same time he ordered the corpse to be brought and put in a buffalo cart, which was thereupon sent round the town to the beat of the gong, informing all the European and native gentlemen to look at this man who had drawn blood from his Raja or Governor; and that the law was that he should not live, but in death even he should be hung. When they had sufficiently published this, then they carried the corpse to Tanjong Maling, at the Point of Tullo Ayer, where they erected a mast on which they hung it, in an iron basket (*i.e.* barred box), which I have mentioned before; and there it remained for ten or fifteen days, till the bones only remained. After this the Sultan asked the body from Mr. Raffles, which was granted: not till then was it washed and buried."

This is an account of one of those occurrences which have made the Malays notorious all over the world, termed in English "running amuck;" the Malays themselves pronounce it as "amo," and it is written in the Jawi character as "amok." On referring to Marsden, I perceive that authority, besides giving various significations, applied both to men and beasts, calls the "amok" the commission of indiscriminate murder in a frenzy. The late assassinations of Lord Mayo and Chief Justice Norman, though not committed by Malays, would be called "amoks." One of the Governors of Bencoolen was thus "amoked" in his own sitting-room, where he met instant death, owing to his having by mistake struck the son of a Malay chief with his whip when taking his evening airing in a buggy.* A Dutch admiral was "amoked" on his own quarter-deck when receiving a Javanese chief and his family on board, he having saluted (as was the custom of his country at that time) the chief's daughter. He died on the spot for the supposed insult. In the case of the Lieutenant-Governor of Singapore, his being "amoked" appears to have been a mere chance collision, the intended victim having been another native by whom the "amoker" had been imprisoned. The real cause of the "amok" was the imprisonment—an insult to a descendant of the Prophet, and how artfully was the intended revenge concealed from the jailor!

In this short account of an occurrence, Abdulla's prejudices and proclivities as a Mahomedan came, unexpectedly to me, more strongly out than I have perceived elsewhere, or else his credulity is greater than I anticipated. There appears to have been a good deal of religious fanaticism induced in the *mêleê*. In Mahomedan

* It is curious that on this very day accounts have arrived that another has been assassinated in this same Bencoolen.

eyes the holy Syed had merely killed a Kafir (the Hindoo) and wounded a Nazarene (Colonel Farquhar), so he dilates much on the cowardice of the Hindoo sepoys, and the utter inefficiency of their English officers. The barbarities that he ascribes to the British gentlemen composing the European residents, I may emphatically state as without foundation, and totally inconsistent with their character. This has been a mere rumour of fanatics. He gives a ludicrous account of the behaviour of all, and describes every one concerned as having lost their heads, save and excepting Sir Stamford Raffles himself, who appears to have acted with energy and decision.

The severity of Malay laws on such occasions, as described by the Sultan, may be obnoxious to our moral code, yet they are the most applicable to the genius of the people, and form notoriously the safety-guards to native rulers, who have never been known to be assassinated. The treatment of Syed Essen's body was a piece of impotent revenge, which by its savageness and unmeaningness was calculated to create a reaction in the "amoker's" favour. Thus Syed Essen's grave at Tanjong Pagar is to this day a place of pilgrimage, and he himself is accounted a great saint. Thus the effect of the exposure of his body took a direction opposite to what was intended.

XIII.

ON WEARING WEAPONS.

"Now, in my estimation it is very foolish in those who oppose the custom of the English, which prevents people wearing arms, for there is great wisdom in their so doing. For no doubt, if people will wear arms, they do it with the intention of using them, *i.e.* to stab either men or beasts. Also, when there is a weapon on the body, it is thought of no consequence. But look at the effects of it in Malay countries, where weapons are always borne, and we see people stabbed daily, as well as people amoking (running amuck). But, praise be to God, in my native country Malacca it is difficult to hear of such an event once in the year. Further, all evils arise from and have their origin in wearing arms in all places. It is but right that people should have arms for warfare, or in places infested by wild animals; but if not in such circumstances, they are of course useless. Further, from the wearing of arms arise pride, vanity, and laziness in duty; whence proceed poverty and ignorance in a nation, owing to the few real workers and men of intelligence. It is the feeling amongst all Malays who live under the English and Dutch Governments, that it is a great hardship and unfairness that there should be such strictness against wearing arms—their impression being that they thereby have the great-

ness of their ancestry taken from them; but thus they only disçlose their stupidity in being angry at what is not intended."

These remarks are admirable, and will be fully assented to by all subjects belonging to industrial nations, who have well organized laws and institutions. Safety to life and property is held by a very loose tenure where each man has to protect his own by force of arms. Strength and cunning there over-rule justice and equity.

XIV.

RAFFLES FOUNDING THE SINGAPORE INSTITUTE.

"On a certain day Mr. Raffles called together all the European gentlemen, merchants, and ship captains, together with the Sultan and Tomungong, with their chiefs; and entertained them in his house at the top of the hill. The Malay victuals were prepared in the house of the Tomungong, at Mr. Raffles' expense. After they had done eating and drinking, then Mr. Raffles came and sat beside the Sultan and Tomungong, to whom he thus addressed himself, "I have a strong desire of great consequence which I wish to make known to you, as well as to all present." On this the Sultan asked what it was. Mr. Raffles then said that the son of the Sultan and the son of the Tomungong, together with two or three companions and followers, sons also of chiefs, he wished to send to the Governor-General of Bengal, in order that they might learn English, writing, arithmetic, and other kinds of knowledge, in order that they might not remain ignorant, like other Malays who were not fond of study; arguing further, that while they were young they could learn quickly, and so that in four or five years they would be finished; 'thus in times hereafter' (addressing himself to the Sultan), 'when your son becomes Sultan, he will be one that is accomplished above all others.' He added, 'See, O Sultan, in Singa-

pore, in all the races there are merchants, excepting amongst the Malays. This is owing to their not learning the more important duties; first, they do not understand accounts, nor writing; now if the sons of sultans were clever in these, the same would be entered on by other Malays. Now, I would be glad if your people could elevate themselves in this respect.' The Sultan was silent for a moment and did not answer, at length he said, 'Very good, sir. Wait a little till I think it over; in a few days I will give you an answer.' Then said Mr. Raffles, 'Don't be concerned about the passage money, and the other expenses, for I will make it known to the Governor-General, and he will have a nice house prepared, with clever tutors, who will teach your children, whereby in after times they will be able to understand and gain acquirements, experience, judgment, and knowledge.' On this the Sultan and Tomungong arose and left for their homes, accompanied by their chiefs and followers.

It was about two Fridays after this that the Sultan and Mr. Raffles met at the house of Colonel Farquhar, for on that day there was a trial of an 'amoker,' who had 'amoked' at Campong Glam; and when this was over, Mr. Raffles asked the Sultan about their former discourse. The Sultan hesitated, and then said it would not do, as he had consulted his wife, who would not part with her son, but added that if there were a school in Singapore, that she would allow him away from her. When Mr. Raffles heard this he changed countenance, and added that he would have this done, for the sake of elevating the understanding of the Malays; and if the Sultan be against this, it would be to the Sultan's own loss; and further, that in future his children would be wanting in understanding, and of the usual sample of Malay rajas.

Now, to my notions the stupidity and shortsightedness of the Sultan are clear. Was it not a good and great assistance that was intended by Mr. Raffles in training and teaching their children? Think of it, O ye gentlemen; how many are there who could undertake such a thing as this, with its attendant expenses? Had one the wish to send any children to Bengal, would it not cost thousands of dollars? But more than this, there would have been the honour of being with the children of the Governor-General, learning with them, and living at ease in houses such as they live in. And, supposing the young princes had been sent, as desired by Mr. Raffles, even now would they have especially been equal to the responsibilities of taking over their fathers' positions. Neither would they be grasping after the world's goods. It is not, as you see now—as the tree in the forest struck by the gale, there it falls. Moreover, as they say, knowledge is valueless in the world to come, but only of use in this passing one; but this saying rests on our own free will, for it is laid down in many books to seek, and it is the more and more lawful to learn, all kinds of acquirements, besides knowledge of accounts and such like. Now if this be not right, how can their belief be confirmed to us also, till the future, in its full truthfulness? But this cannot be, and from this comes great sorrow to my heart, when I see the state of mankind, having neither care for the present nor for the future, but wallowing in their own sensuality. As the proverb says, A speaking idiot is a compound one—a double distilled fool. A single fool has no understanding, and a double fool will not understand, though he be instructed—and, as coming from them, they make me the biggest fool of all. A cat leaping, does it startle me from my sleep, or does a cock crow till near noon?

Now, regarding the conversation of Mr. Raffles, when

the Sultan had listened to it, as related above, he was silent—not only not making any sounds, but resting from devising. Mr. Raffles was also silent, but his silence was eminently much more useful than our cogitations. About one month after this the Sultan, Tomungong, and all the leading men of the Europeans were invited to the house of Colonel Farquhar, where they assembled at ten in the morning, none knowing the object of their coming together. After all had assembled, Mr. Raffles entered, first paying his respects to the Sultan and Tomungong, seating them on either side of himself. Then, addressing the Sultan, he said, 'O Sultan, Tomungong, and all ye gentlemen here gathered together, I have a desire to give effect to, to wit, an undertaking of the greatest utility to this and to future generations; for to-day we live that we may die, and then pass away. Now, if we can show good deeds, we are named as good hereafter; and if bad, so accordingly. Now, while we have the opportunity, let us make a good name, for future generations. Now, what I desire to do is to erect an edifice in which all races can be taught, each in their own language, and by their own schoolmasters, in all knowledge which pertains to true intelligence, such as may be imparted to each and every one, saving and excepting such as affects faith; confining the institution to languages, writing, arithmetic, astronomy (literally, roundness of the earth), geography, etc. But my greatest anxiety is to advance the Malays, by easy degrees, in their own language—otherwise, let each race have its assigned place, and all this without expense, but let the teaching be gratuitous; the country will increase in population in time, so if there be such an institute, its fame will spread to all races. What do you gentlemen think of my proposition—is it good or not?' The Sultan and Tomungong replied that the proposition was excellent,

as their children would thus be enabled to obtain instruction. All the European gentlemen also expressed themselves as approving of the scheme. Then said Mr. Raffles, 'Let us settle the matter by subscribing to the erection of the edifice.' To this all replied assenting. On this Mr. Raffles took pen and paper, and by way of precedence to the East India Company he wrote down 2000 dollars, himself adding from his private purse the same sum. Then he asked, with a smile, what the Sultan would give; shall it be 2000 also? But he replied, with a loud exclamation and a laugh, that he was a poor man, so where would he get 2000 dollars? To this Mr. Raffles argued that he should give more than he gave, as the undertaking was of immediate utility to the Malays, and greatly more so than to the English; but let it be 1000 dollars. Then he asked the Tomungong to give 1000 dollars, Colonel Farquhar the same, Dr. Martin 200, and Lady Raffles 200. After this the various European gentlemen gave their quota, the whole amounting to 17,500 Spanish dollars.

Then, when this had been settled and the money collected, which was reckoned up by Mr. Raffles himself, it only remained to select a site for the Institute; consequently, on a certain evening he went on foot with Colonel Farquhar, conversing as they proceeded, till they arrived at Bras Bussa creek, where they halted to look around. There used to be here a sand-hill covered with scrub. They then returned home—but on the morrow, men were sent to fell the trees and to level the site; and in five days more there came bricks, lime, and artificers, with the whole material for house building, and in about a month's time the foundations were excavated. This done, in the year of the Messiah 1823, on a certain day, the Europeans, also the Sultan and Tomungong, assembled, together with all the Malays, where there was

a squared stone with a hole made in it, closed with iron. This they placed below the door; on which Mr. Raffles arrived, and the people then collected around him. He then took out a golden rupee from his pocket and put it in the hole. The European gentlemen also put in dollars, to the amount of eighty. A Chinese artificer then fixed the fastenings with lead, to prevent its being reopened. So they laid the stone below the door, and, as they raised it erect, a salute of twelve guns was fired on the hill; and hereupon Mr. Raffles named the building 'Institution.' So the building was raised; and during the progress three Chinese fell from the scaffolding, and were killed by their heads being broken on the stones."

Sir Stamford Raffles appears to have had a great desire to elevate the native chiefs, but the ultimate effects of this he may have miscalculated. Would not a superior intelligence create an influence that would sway the population, independently of all British control? * In tropical countries, under European sway, there are evidently two influences at work in contrary directions—did Raffles place himself as the umpire between them, or did he ignore the one and embrace the other? In other words, were his countrymen mere interlopers who, if cherished, would ultimately have a deteriorating influence on the "closed service," or bureaucracy? Did he lean more to the natives than to his own countrymen, because, through them, he saw the interests of his fellow officials more secure? I do

* Were the educated chiefs of New Zealand more dangerous, as enemies, than the uneducated? Yes.—And did the letters taught them by the missionaries give them immense powers of combination against the English and Colonial Governments? Yes.—Then what would have been the ultimate effects of Raffles' policy? Blood is thicker than water.

not pretend to judge him in regard to this, and the questions that will evolve out of this are so great that they will task the abilities of the best statesmen that India can engage. As an antidote to Sir Stamford's generous impulses, nature has given a climate that makes the Malays naturally lazy, so for them to be otherwise would be *unnatural.* It is curious to observe that regenerators always select a task that can never be accomplished; thus their employment is continuous, never ending. Abdulla in this respect is an active disciple of Sir Stamford, having ideas far advanced beyond his countrymen; but it is to be remembered that he had Arab blood in him. Thus he was ambitious to advance the prestige of his adopted countrymen, but in this he, with a practical eye, sees there is no hope. His proverbs seem to indicate that, as a cat's leap does not startle you in sleep, and a cock's crow is not reserved till noon, so the torpor of the Malays will not be disturbed from its settled immobility.

Baulked in his wishes to educate the Malay princes, Sir Stamford now directs his attention to founding a school, which afterwards rose to be the most prominent establishment in Singapore, under the name of the Institute. It will be seen to have been initiated on rigidly secular principles, so as to avoid distrust on the part of the natives, who considered Christians, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Buddhists, Jews, and Fetishists, each again divided into their various sects, all more or less opposed to each other in various shades of doctrine. Thus the great love of contention in national education appears to have been amicably settled at the beginning, whatever troubles occasionally arose afterwards. The Institute, during my residence in Singapore, was used by all nationalities and colours, but principally by Christians, Buddhists, and Hindoos, to the number of two

or three hundred; and teachers of the various languages, as designed by Sir Stamford, were employed.

The various branches of the Institute worked smoothly and cordially as a rule, except when an occasional governor, holding sectarian instead of cosmopolitan views, would allow the good station chaplain to make a raid on the heathen within the walls, which stirred up bitter feuds between the teachers of the different religions. But these raids were never very vigorous, so the duties fell back to their usual quiet routine. Such episodes were perforce intermittent, as the East India Company's chaplains were understood by the rules of the service not to undertake missionary labour. They indeed got salaries ranging from £800 to £1200 a year, while the highest pay given to missionaries never exceeded £300 a year. The propriety of this arrangement has often puzzled me, unless it be that the hard worker gets least pay, or that we are sometimes paid *not* to do our duty.

The sum subscribed speaks volumes of the open-handed liberality of the Singapore British merchants, who bore the largest share, and who have continued their support whenever called upon; yet at that time they were "interlopers."

The elevation of the natives seems to have been a hobby with Sir Stamford Raffles—due, no doubt, to his original radical politics, which were also the politics of his masters, the merchant adventurers trading to the East. In the embryo state of things in his time, his doings were of little consequence; but the subject will have some day to be seriously looked in the face, when possibly there will be every kind of opinion, and many opposing measures suggested. Abdulla tells us that not more than one in a thousand natives can read and write. The question then that arises first is this: Shall a

European Government step in to educate the natives, or shall it leave things as they are? The British Government incline to the former course, the Dutch Government to the latter. The results of these antagonistic policies no one can anticipate. But we know that knowledge is power; therefore, by suffusing knowledge over a whole people, that people will, undoubtedly, from being weak, become powerful. With a people in the latter condition, then, what influence can an outside power have? Here, then, we are led to consider the tendencies of the conservative and democratic factions in the conquering nation. The conservative faction would rather hold India, for England's sake. The democratic would do the same; but its principles overbear interest, and urge the cry of India for the Indians, as all men are equal. So with it English interests would go to the wall. Thus the two elements in the home country work against each other, one overturning the other in their respective cycles; and neither attaining the ends they seek. The conservative measures weaken England herself by drawing off her life's blood to defend India, as it is. On the contrary, the democratic measures have a tendency to weaken India, because once they shall have destroyed the English element in her, anarchy will be universal; for, however much they may educate her in the interests of democracy, no education can be of avail to a people morally weak. Thus, let England abandon India, that country would become a prey to new conquerors—a battle-field for northern contending powers. The Dutch solution on the whole appears to be the most sensible under the circumstances, however much it may grate against liberalism. It is a fair concession of interests between Europeans and natives.

Sir Stamford Raffles appears to have been imbued with the utopian and impracticable ideas now so much

blazed before the British public, by a school that had little development in his time, though the English press now teems with its lucubrations—he would have brought the lower masses in direct contact with the Government, thus ignoring the middle classes; he would have supported sinew against intellect, and thus have brought to life what he did not anticipate, viz. an immense and overpowering officialdom, to minister to the wants of the hydra.

XV.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

"ON a certain day during the Bugis season I noticed fifty or sixty male and female slaves taken about the town of Singapore, some of whom were youths; others had infants in their arms, some also were sick. These were driven by Bugis people like sheep; so I went forward to them and asked of what race they were, when I was told (by their keeper), this one is from Bouton, this from Mengri, that from Mandor; but if you take a boat and go to the prow that entered last night, you will find that it has two to three hundred slaves on board. I then, for the sake of curiosity only, asked their prices, on which one was offered at forty dollars, another at thirty; I then went away. Then on the morrow I took a boat and went to the prow, which I found "chock" full of slaves, to the number as above stated, male and female, amongst whom were young handsome girls; others were in the family way, near about their time. This filled me with compassion towards them. I now observed, as I stood looking over the scene as it presented itself to me, hundreds of Chinese coming with the intention of purchasing. I was especially grieved to see the condition of the pregnant women, who turning to me with weeping eyes, forced tears from my own; for whose wives and children may they have been? And I was yet

the more affected at seeing their dire condition. They were about having their rice in a pot; and their drinking water was contained in the knot of a bamboo, such as dogs are treated with.

I was then taken below to see the young girls; some were half grown, others at their prime and marriageable; some were fair, others dark, of various complexions; some did not speak Malay, and these had frizzled hair, and were very dark, their teeth only being white, with large bellies, and thick lips. Moreover, I regarded the owners of these as mere brutes, which, having no shame, had no fear of God. The younger girls sat close to them, and of which it would be improper for me to write in my book. And in as far as the buyers, they did as they wanted by exhibiting their bodies and such like, and of which I am perfectly ashamed. And the conduct of the slave-owners was exceedingly coarse and without gentleness, for I observed when the child of a slave cried, they kicked and struck it severely with a stick, till its body swelled. And as to the young girls —who were much run after by the buyers—they had a little cloth given them (to hide their shame); but as for those that were old or sick, they did not mind them. Moreover, it was a great misfortune to see the child and the mother sold to separate people. The children cried with great grief when they saw their mothers carried away from them: at such a moment they appeared deprived of their senses. If I had the reckoning of this I would bring condign punishment on men that were seared to engage in such actions. Then as to the male slaves, they had them tied by the waist, in the manner of monkeys, each with a rope tied to the bulwark, sitting in their own filth; but as to below decks, one could not stop from holding one's nose.

Now, at that time the most of the female slaves brought

were from Bali and Celebes; these were all bought by the Chinese to make wives of, and whose progeny has been numerous down to this date. Malay prows brought slaves also from Siak. These also were numerous, principally being brought from the interior, *i.e.* from Mentangkaban and Pakan Baru. All these poured in from distant parts to Singapore, and were sold like lambs, driven the whole length of the road, and whipped forward by the rattan. Such was the state of the case at that time—slaves were sold like beasts, whether it were in Singapore or Malacca.

To proceed. When I had returned on shore, I next day told the whole to Mr. Raffles; on which he remarked that such doings would not have long continuance, as the English were about to give them up, as being very wicked, and that numerous petitions against the slave trade had been laid before the parliament. He further remarked that it was not here alone where such atrocities were committed, but that numerous English ships were engaged in carrying negroes by the thousand as merchandise to every country in Europe (*sic*); but he added, 'If I live, I hope to see every slave a free man.'"

In the above short translation we see two curious facts crop out. First, Abdulla belonging to the class that contains notoriously the greatest slave traders, viz. the descendants of the Arabs, yet he is brought to condemn it. Raffles was a disciple of Wilberforce, and Abdulla was a disciple of Raffles; through this means we see his conversion. Second, we perceive in the same breath, that this same traffic was the cause of the elevation of the subjects of it, by their becoming the wives of the Chinese and other residents of Singapore. The word "berbini"

is used—that is, to take to wife, by which no inferior connection is indicated. Thus, looking at the matter on purely economical grounds, independently of any sentiment, we see the laws of political economy asserting their power—it is true, in a rude and coarse manner, according to the usages and propensities of the natives of the tropics, where modern European influences have not been felt.

Singapore at that time was destitute of women, whilst the native traders, merchants, and planters were thriving. The prolific islands of Bali, Nias, and Bouton were overcrowded with the article,—fathers and mothers had not the means to feed their offspring,—and thus, as nature tends to an equilibrium, the element flowed into the empty cavities. These female slaves became the mothers of what are now, in many cases, the leading Asiatic settlers. The original *dire condition* was thus not unmixed with ultimate benefits. Such is the unbiassed and unsentimental view of the case.

To discuss the topics that arise would require very large space, which cannot be here given. On turning to Webster, he is found to define a slave as a person wholly subject to the will of another; but a little reflection will show that this word *wholly* is inapplicable, and, in fact, in regard to slaves, it will be found that their connection with their masters is more or less under laws and regulations of the State. If subjection to a man be slavery, then woman, by the holiest of rites, viz. marriage, becomes a slave; but who will agree to this definition? Thus, there are very great differences of opinion in regard to slavery, some women calling their subjection true happiness, others the reverse; and so it is with the slaves and slave-owners of Webster—some support the institution, others are against it. But it will be admitted that we are all in subjection to the

State, and consequently, by Webster's definition, slaves of it—as witness our Militia, Customs, Impressment, and other Acts. Then, if this be admitted as true logic, to enslave is the prerogative of the State, and enslaving by the individual is an extension of that prerogative by the State to that individual. Thus, slavery may be lawful or not lawful, according to the will of the majority of a commonwealth, or by the will of an autocrat alone.

The institution of slavery was almost universal during the last century, and has only been abrogated in the most powerful states within these last few years; it is inherent in all unorganized tribes or nations, and is closely allied to polygamy and piracy. As these three systems support each other, they are therefore very obnoxious to the subjects of well-settled northern governments, and particularly so to the masses; and where education is general and the press free, the sentiment against them is almost universal. The interests of labour, which have a deteriorating influence in slavery, are probably the basis on which the sentiment is founded. Thus, until the press expanded and education became general in England, we heard nothing against slavery. Our loss of the slave states of America made it a matter of indifference to some, and policy to others, to undermine the institution, as it furnished raw produce and power to our enemies. Americans, again, have been forced to abolish it, out of respect for the democratic sentiments of New England, and in the interests of her hired labouring classes.

Dalton gives an interesting insight into one of the modes of procuring slaves in the far east; this was on the Koti river, in Borneo. Of the Kayan tribe he says as follows:* "The ravages of these people are dreadful. In August, 1828, Selji returned to Marpao from an excur-

* See Moore's *Notices of Archipelago.*

sion. His party had been three months absent, during which time, besides detached huts, he had destroyed seventeen campongs, with the whole of the men and old women. The young women and children were brought prisoners; the former amounted to one hundred and thirteen, and the latter to about two hundred. He had with him about forty war-boats and large canoes, none less than ninety-five feet in length. The one set apart for Selji and his women was one hundred and five feet long. I was" (says Dalton) "nearly two months in this boat in various directions with him, when Selji was in search of heads. The swiftness of these canoes is incredible; when going down the river with the stream, they have the appearance of a bird skimming the water—the sensation is such that I invariably fell asleep. The perseverance of the Dijaks during the expedition is wonderful; they generally got information of distant campongs from the women taken prisoners (no man ever escapes to tell the tale), who soon became attached to the conquerors! In proceeding towards a distant campong, the canoes are never seen on the river during the daytime. They invariably commence their journey half-an-hour after dusk, when they pull rapidly and silently up the river, close to the bank. One boat keeps closely behind the other, and the paddles are covered with the soft bark of a tree, so that no noise whatever is made. In Selji's last expedition it was forty-one days before a campong was surprised, although several canoes were cut off in the river, owing to the superior sailing of his boat." On arriving at a campong, "about twenty minutes before daybreak they commence operations, by throwing on the thatch of the huts lighted fireballs, made of the dry bark of trees and resin, which immediately involves the whole in flames; the war-cry is then raised, and the work of murder

commences. The male inhabitants are speared, or more commonly cut down with the cutlass, as they descend the ladder of their dwellings in attempting to escape from the flames, which, Selji remarked to me, give just sufficient light to distinguish a man from a woman. The women and children endeavouring to gain the jungle by the well-known paths find them already occupied by the enemy, from whom there is no escaping. They of course surrender themselves, and are collected together at daylight." Again, "after the women and children are collected, the old women are killed, and the heads of the men are cut off; the brains are then taken out, and the heads are held over a fire for the purpose of smoking and preserving them. In this excursion seven hundred women and children were taken captive."

Such are the habits that fill the slave market. But slavery is not to be put down so easily. It was still indulged in by the natives during my residence in the Straits (from 1838 to 1855); and if life convicts may be called slaves, their services were appropriated by the Governors and various favoured residents for their private use, in the same manner as in Tasmania and Sydney to a very late period. Thus that slavery was abolished from British soil was not wholly true. As an illustration of this I may mention that, about the year 1852, a country-born Arab having burnt the soles of a slave with hot iron to prevent his escape—an act and its consequences which ultimately led to his committing murder and being hung—the inconsistency took place, that a Governor who had several convict slaves in his employment signed the death-warrant of a man who only kept one!

And looking at England herself, if free from nominal slavery, is she free from actual? Not as regards the sailors, according to Plimsoll's account; nor the milli-

ners, from Hood's account; nor the file-cutters and glass-blowers, from Khol's account. If these are not subject to one person, they are subject to circumstance,—which sends them out to be drowned like cats; to be confined like canaries; or to be worked like horses. Such hard lines would make a tropical slave's hair stand on end. Then look at the million of paupers and jail birds—one-thirtieth part of the whole population enslaved by their idleness or unbridled passions; is the control of the State or the control of the neighbour the more potent and beneficial? The answer to this would be that the control of the State is not slavery,—while the control of the neighbour is. So, in the most enlightened nation of the world, moral influence is negative, and idleness and crime increase with huge strides, for want of individual control. Again, we have the stream of unfortunates stretching from Exeter Hall to the Haymarket—the poles of the social world—every evening, like a comet's tail,—a material that, if properly controlled (even though it be called slavery), would populate the virgin areas of Australia, and would surpass the whole indigenous population of the Malay peninsula! Such are the cogitations of people not in England, not with the facts under their noses so that they can see them! To be close to them is to be blind, and so we hear many varying sentiments as to the subject. Every humane man, however, must be against slavery; but the tropical populations oppose them. Then when will it be put an end to in the world? To this I would answer, when European sharebrokers cease to cheat the widows, and the lawyers cease to cheat the orphans. When all the social evils of Europe cease,—then will those of the tropics cease also. In the mean time slavery, piracy, and polygamy afford a field, and a permanent one, for the overflowing energy of Europe to

expend itself upon, as the breakers drive against the shattering rocks,—the fragments of which still form themselves into sand-banks, and yet offer more effectual resistance, though broken in a thousand pieces. A curious corroboration of my statement comes from California. The papers there have at length discovered an immense Chinese slave trade, especially in women, who on arrival at that free city are knocked down to the highest bidder. Thus the same undercurrent of slavery that still obtains in British possessions amongst the Asiatics extends to the freest of all the American states. How behind we are! The enthusiastic and admirable Sir Samuel Baker pierces Africa in vain; for, where nature unsolicited satisfies all the wants of man, no one will work—no one will produce unless he be a slave.*

The revenues paid per head by tropical populations under European Governments give a remarkable illustration of the last sentence. Thus, while the population of England herself pay £2 8*s*. per head, and some of her Australian colonies £5 to £7, the free population of Hindostan only pay 4*s*. Good-natured England, no doubt, true to her principles, bears the burden with equanimity; but turning to our more managing Dutch neighbour, we find that her Indian population pay 12*s*.† a head, and how is this managed? While England holds by the Ryotwarrie system, or else by money rents from middlemen, the Dutch have introduced a system of *corvée* or forced labour—a form of slavery, whatever it be named, and of which Temminck says, "This system of compulsory labour may be easily abused into an instrument of the most grinding oppression; but, so long as it is managed with discretion and good sense, we are dis-

* Written on Nov. 3, 1873, notwithstanding the news of success against slave traders.

† From statistics of 1856.

posed to believe, from all that we can learn, that it is preferable to every other system hitherto devised for developing the resources of tropical countries." It is notable that while Sir Stamford Raffles held sway in Java, he overthrew this system, and endeavoured to introduce the ryotwarrie, but the attempt ended in complete failure, on account of the loss of revenue and the burdens he placed on the government of Hindostan. Thus even a Protestant government like Holland has not been able to abolish practical slavery in her tropical possessions.

And, in passing, it is curious to note how a principle will hold true in small areas as well as in great. Penang, having a large majority of Malays in its population, only pays revenue to the extent of 3*s*. 3*d*. per head; Malacca, with more Chinese, Klings, and Portuguese, 6*s*. 10*d*.; and Singapore, with a majority of the industrious element, 15*s*.*

There will always be various shades of opinion as to how far slavery, forced labour, or entire freedom are proper in tropical governments; but as we are bound only to look at facts, it is not difficult to form one. It will be seen by Dalton's account (and he was always considered most trustworthy) that the proclivities of the indigenes were not calculated to call forth our encomiums, nor does it appear possible that they could with benefit to themselves pass into a state of complete uncontrol, —the birth of our highest civilization. Thus, whatever northern humanity may urge on looking at statistics, it will be allowed that it is not the tropical populations of an empire that are the workers, whether they be forced, persuaded, or left to themselves. Thus one of those paradoxes of nature comes to light, that, while the tropical subjects of Great Britain only bear an annual

* From statistics of 1853.

tax of 4*s*. per head per annum, her home and colonial subjects bear £2 8*s*. to £7—that is, in the ratio of one to eleven and thirty-five respectively. Hence the puzzle that northern labourers, while slaving themselves for pleasure, will not allow their black brethren to do anything, lest it should have the name of that same slavery in which they themselves rejoice! Hence it has been England's policy, since the days in which Abdulla writes, to leave her Hindoo subjects at perfect liberty and without burdens, by which they were able to concoct an immense scheme of rebellion, store up ammunition and warlike material, and then, as a commencement, thrust hundreds of ladies and their innocent children down a deep well! Their natural propensities were thus vindicated. Hence many people may be inclined to think that the Dutch have shown much greater sense, by extracting from their tropical subjects three times more than the English have; for by this means they have kept the natives well employed, and, it is to be suggested also, at the same time, happy, as they have been free from rebellion; nor have they had the same facilities given them for storing up powder and shot, to make an end of their masters. How the Dutch have been so adroit as to hoodwink their own democracy and labouring classes in Holland is, of course, unknown to a foreigner like myself; for we may surmise that they will have the same opinions as our own, and oppose a black man doing any work whatever. Certain it is they have an excellent arrangement in Java itself, whereby not a single newspaper is published, save and except that very interesting one called the *Java Courant*, which, curiously enough, always supports the government for the time being, and so makes the people contented.

It is true that one calling himself Edward Douwes Dekker,—a member of that pampered class called the

Civil Service,—true to the instincts of the privileged Bengalee official, quarrels with the existing state of things, and takes up the cudgels for the natives against his own countrymen. Thus he confesses that "two per cent. is allowed to the European and native functionaries on all products sold in Holland, which has caused the neglect of rice culture, and juggled the natives into famine;" that there is "suppressed discontent, to be turned into fury, despair, and frenzy;" that "the Europeans have corrupted the natives" (this is strange, when we know that all good comes from Europe); that "the oppressions of the people should be put an end to;" and, with many other commendable measures, "his Excellency (the Governor-General of Netherlands India) has sanctified the system of abuse of power, of plunder and murder, by which the poor Javanese suffer."

This Dutchman seems to have dressed himself in a sarong (native shawl) and his wife in a kabayu (native gown), which accounts for the tenor of his sympathies. Yet a Dutchman's taxes are as four to one of the Javanese! But the former says he is a freeman, while the latter calls himself a slave! When will differences of opinion end? There are so many kinds of slavery and so many shades of thought in it, that the warfare of sentiment will continue as long as there are temperate and tropical regions. The symbol of slavery at home is a Scotch Cameronian of strict principles, having a whip in his hands lashing his "niggers." Out of this symbol comes all the intense feeling against it; and properly so in this case, as a strict Cameronian, besides being very avaricious, is so energetic that his blood boils to see a "nigger," or any one else, working lazily. His idea of God is also very inhumane; for to that Being, as Burns informs us, he ascribes the propensity of sending "one to heaven and ten to hell a' for His glory."

Thus savage notions are inculcated in his breast from his youth upwards, for even his mamma tells him, in going out to the world, to "mak siller if he can honestly—bit at a' risks to mak siller." It is a righteous thing that slavery, under such instruments, should be abolished. But it is not to be concealed that the worst effects of the institution are on the whites themselves, as it deteriorates their moral status and instils decay and corruption into their own hearthsides. Yet may we ask, does not the home slavery that surrounds us and which we do not see, because it is so close, also effect the same degradation? For instance, what end comes of working delicate female servants and drudges from 4 a.m. to 12 p.m.—which I have witnessed to my mortification—the keeping of little boys starving on the quays on a winter's cold night, to watch the ship's gig while the skipper is at his cups with boon companions in a warm alehouse? There are many harshnesses in the home country that slaves would not stand in the tropics. Then we have the slavery which bad propensities entail on us, such as fornication, open, disgraceful, and of enormous proportions, in all our principal cities; lying, stealing, barefaced mendicancy, maligning, habitual pauperism, etc., etc. Not to look abroad at social sores peculiar to the climate, here is an extensive internal field for efforts of reformation. Between nations and peoples differently circumstanced, socially, politically, and by variation of climate and genius, there will always be a difference of opinion on this subject, and one retorts on the others by exposing their peculiar weaknesses, the intermeddlings by either being respectively called officiousness. But the stronger overcomes the weaker; that is, the sword rules, and might is right. The healing of the sores of tropical nations appears to be a luxury which England can specially afford in this century—so be it; let her do as much good as she can—

but an equal quantity of bad will counterbalance this somewhere else. For instance, look at the increased horrors of the slave ships. In the holy warfare against slavery carried into the very heart of Africa by the philanthropic Baker I see, by late accounts, that he shot one-half of an army opposing him.* Happy Baker, to commit such a paradox! Sir James Brooke, with the same benevolent views, on being opposed by people believing in different principles, was equally happy by the squashing of 2000 human beings in one fell swoop! How perverse is nature, that it will not conform to the measures of enthusiasts pursuing a righteous cause!

Taking an outside view of the case of slavery, as handled by the Anglo-Saxon races of Europe and America, we cannot but be struck with the fact that throughout their measures have been selfish, though a philanthropic aspect has been given them by Wilberforce and others. First, in Britain no fault was found with slavery till we lost the slave states of America; and again, America found no fault with slavery till it interfered with the interests of Irish labour and the Roundheads *versus* Cavaliers, or, in other words, the paramount importance of the New Englanders. Ignorant people, at the same time, blame the white man for creating and perpetuating the institution. Nothing is more absurd than this. Not to quote Scripture in regard to the curse of Ham, let us take the latest accounts of a great anti-slavist—Sir Samuel Baker. He tells us that a negro will sell ten wives for one cow—so who is to blame for creating and perpetuating slavery but the negro himself?—and this will always be, and of it adjacent nations which have little circulation within themselves, trade, or national organization, will always avail themselves, it being in accordance with their religious, and suitable to their

* See his letter to Sir R. Murchison.

social, systems. But slavery, in contact with the white man, as I have already shown, has deleterious effects. It has stealthy enmity towards the status and privileges of white women; it disorganizes the internal economy of families—that is, it rearranges society on a new basis, and one most repulsive to our English home notions.

To obtain an intelligent idea of the subject under the present heading, we require to understand the habits of the labouring population; and as an article on the Bengal Ryot has opportunely appeared in *Blackwood's* (February, 1873), written by one apparently well-informed, I cannot do better than quote from the same. The writer says, that the laws of Menu fix the State's interest in the land at one-sixth the produce, but that the Emperor Akbar fixed the same at one-third; the assessment being struck upon an average of the produce. By-and-by, the Government, immersed in war and intrigues, placed the land revenue in the hands of zemindars or "landsmen," as long as they paid the sum required into the Moorshibad Treasury. On the whole, the ryots preferred these zemindars, as they belonged to their own race. All the evidence now available tends to show that when Bengal fell into the hands of the British, the majority of the zemindars were no mere middlemen, but persons possessed of an actual stake in the properties, and whose rights rested rather upon prescription and sufferance than documentary evidence. The permanent settlement of 1793, by which Lord Cornwallis evoked order out of chaos, conferred upon the zemindars a legal title to their lands. It also guaranteed fixity of tenure to the *Khud Khasht* ryots, whose occupancy dated before 1781. But the fairest estates in Bengal changed hands, lapsing from the old Hindoo aristocracy to Calcutta capitalists.

The quarrels between landlord and ryots, in which

witnesses would be freely suborned by both parties, were generally fostered by native land agents and the underlings of the courts, for the sake of the fees, which flowed in upon them from both sides—the results of which were disastrous and interminable, one order being passed against the landlord one day and rescinded the next, and *vice versâ*.

Then the ryot was constitutionally improvident, never looking further than from hand to mouth, running into debt with the native *banniahs*, and ultimately becoming their *bond slave*—all the profits of his industry going to fill his patrons' pockets; he selling his crops at a fixed price and taking the whole in advance, on which he makes merry as long as the money lasts, and soon assigning over the next crop at terms barely sufficient to cover the cost of production. The ryot is thus, by his own improvidence or short-sightedness, reduced to the position of a steward to the money-lender. On arguing with the ryot on these matters, he will tell you that we are all in the hands of God, and straightway go off and hypothecate his next *aumon* crop. As yet the science of political economy commands no respect among the Indian masses.

The writer adds that the framers of Act 10, who so loudly complained that the permanent settlement had only made useless middlemen of the zemindars, must have been very short-sighted not to see that the permanency of tenure would soon have the same effect upon the ryot, subletting having since been carried out on an extravagant scale in Bengal. Now the landlord, on the one part, only enjoys a small part of the real value of his property, while the actual cultivators, whose holdings are very small, forbidding the introduction of scientific agriculture, are rack-rented.

The estates owned by English landlords, who are

more merciful creditors than the native usurers, however, show a different state of things. There are no ryots in India, or tenants in Britain either, who are more considerately treated or who have more encouragement to better their condition than the tenants upon the extensive zemindaries owned by the Messrs. Morrell in Eastern Bengal.

Of the courts, again, the writer says that the most strenuous exertions of the Government have never yet succeeded in cleansing them from corruption. Every court is infested by subordinates, barring access of suitors to the magistrates. In this the Brahmins even assist the landlord, from venal objects. Thus the ryot is overcome in his search for justice, though more enlightenment is spreading amongst his class round Calcutta.

Religion, properly so called, they have none; and while they importune this or that idol in the hour of their necessity, they seldom trouble their heads about the infinite and the future. Judged by these and other considerations mentioned by the writer, he adds, we might safely say that civilization has as yet failed to reach the rural classes; they eat the same food and wear the same clothes as their ancestors did, before an Englishman set his foot in India, and they ask for nothing better; and we doubt if the ryot will admit that any marked improvement in other respects has overtaken his condition. And yet the fault does not rest with the Government. We cannot civilize a continent by an Act of Parliament; education may dispel gross ignorance, and, by raising their intelligence, enhance their productive powers, beyond anticipation.

Thus, by the writer's account, we see that the native Hindoo is his own enemy, in immersing himself in poverty and chronic difficulties. As such he must be discontented, and naturally will not blame himself, but

the Government. Hence he will always be the cat's paw of the demagogues or the revolutionizer; though in his own frailty innocuous. The climate in which he labours disinclines him to exertion; this is a continuous influence acting on him. In temperate climates the contrary is the case. Thus the tropical labourer must feel himself in a state of coercion before he can perform any useful act, such coercion taking the shape of slavery—the *corvée*, or the bond debtor.

The above account applies correctly in principle to what I have personally observed of the Malay population in that part of Kiddah called Sabrang Prye, under the British, where the cultivator paid cent. per cent. for advances, payment being in kind, though the conditions of tenure were different.

To apply the rules of civilization as interpreted in North-western Europe seems to be the great effort of the philanthropist. But how different must the genius of the people be, and how altered the climate, before such a consummation can here take place, such as would be approved of by those politicians who rejoice, or profess to rejoice, in the elevation of the people. When this happy consummation takes place, then will we see the Hindoo and Javanese ryots with their trades unions, strikes, intimidations, and rattenings, which give people at a distance so high and lovable ideas of the modern developments of our elevated social system. In these days we see that the press gives greater powers to numbers—that is, greater power to sinew over intellect. Supposing the same consummation could take place in Bengal, then we would see with the elevation of the natives the waning of the influence of England over them. Thus arises a dilemma for which antagonistic politicians will have their respective solutions.

XVI.

RAFFLES AND THE KING OF SIAM.

"AGAIN, on a certain day came a letter written in Malay from the Raja of Siam, addressed to Mr. Raffles, the purport of which was that the Raja of Siam desired friendship with the English Company (East India); but he, at the same time, was frightfully pompous and self-adulating. The letter appeared also to have only three corners, the fourth being torn off. After I had read it, Mr. Raffles inquired why the letter had only three corners. I told him that I had never seen the like before, yet it seemed to be done purposely, as the paper had not the appearance of having been torn originally in its manufacture. Mr. Raffles replied, 'You are right in your suggestion; but what is the meaning of the corner being torn?' To this I said I did not know. Then Mr. Raffles told me that there was a hidden design of much importance in it, which I had not yet learned, and which he would show me, viz., it was from the inflated self-assumption, combined with ignorance, of the Raja of Siam; for to his limited understanding his country was the whole world, and that the corner torn off the letter represented all countries beyond his. When I heard this I was astonished with perfect surprise at his penetration of such devices; so I thought to myself, 'This truly is a man of high intellect, for from him I have learnt

two wrinkles of high import: first, when I knew him in Malacca, he detected the forgery of Tuanku Penglima Besar, in the letter said to be from the Susanan at Benharam; and secondly, in ferreting out the secret of the Raja of Siam.' All this I remembered, and have written it in my autobiography, so that it may have the approval of those who read it, and as an example of how superior intellects attain their greatness, mightiness, love of the people, and high náme; these not being got from good looks, or from high race, but from good ability and knowledge,—for in these times Mr. Raffles was yet young, busy, engaged with duty and office work, as others were. But it was owing to his wit, sagacity, and foresight,—thus he, in his intercourse with the Governor-General of Bengal, proved that Java could be conquered, which gained him the trust, so that the work was given over to him. His sagacity and intelligence were his forte. This is the mark by which a man is truly great.

After this he told me that he wished me to reply to the letter of the Raja of Siam, saying to me, 'I will give you the idea, which you can put on paper in a proper style.' I replied, 'Very good.' So he said, 'Sit down here,' and with a smile he continued, that he wished to humble him, as he had displayed his mightiness. 'You will understand me by a parallel story, thus: There was a child, and when it was born by its mother it saw a cock; and when it saw the cock, both its eyes became blind. After this, it was nursed by its father till it had grown up sufficiently to listen to general news, when it was told that the sovereignty of England was very extensive. On hearing this, the blind one asked if it was as big as a cock. To which the people replied, Oh! the subjects are immensely numerous. On this the blind one asked, Are they as numerous

as the feathers on the cock, these English subjects? The people now told him that the English were very clever in warfare. The blind one then asked them if they were as clever as the cock in fighting. To which the people replied, They have wonderful science. On which the blind one asked, Have they the science of the cock? Then the people told him that if he ever heard the sound of their cannon, that he would die from fright. The blind one then asked if the sound was the same as the cock-crow, and so on. Thus, to all the sayings and reports of people he always compared the cock; for he only saw this, and so put it in comparison to all other things. And so the existence of the Raja of Siam is in such like, because he has not seen other countries, nor governments, nor great warlike expeditions touching on his shores. Thus to him his country and the whole world are one and the same, just as the blind one sees the cock and nothing else; but if he could see the size of England and other great nations, the power of their governments, wealth, and warlike material, only then would it come home to him that his country was merely a spot in the round world.'

So when he had done telling the story he told me to compose a letter in such terms, as the ship would sail on the morrow evening, and to put in nothing else besides, but good wishes as between the two parties, viz. the English Company and himself. In addition he sent presents of broadcloth and five rolls of satin, flowered with gold. And when I had heard his order I was much concerned, and my heart failed me like a vessel overloaded. Such was the state of my mind when I had to set to the task; and, furthermore, I had to write the same in gold lettering. But by the help of God and the prosperity of my tutor's teaching, I had the letter finished by twelve at midnight, the margins and contents

being all of gold; and to look at the letter, it actually glittered—to my experience I have never seen such another, it was so truly beautiful. So next morning I took it up to the hill, as Mr. Raffles was walking up and down the room; and when he saw me coming, he opened the venetian blind, crying out to me, 'What! have you been playing yourself? Go back and write that letter, as the vessel sails to-night.' On this I told him that it was finished, and that I had brought it. Hereupon he was surprised, and told me to bring it up quickly; and he came forward to the stair-door to meet me, waiting for me to ascend. And when I had got up he took hold of the letter, saying, 'It is very beautiful, just like watered gold,' and he added, 'Is this the letter for the Raja of Siam?' to which I replied, 'Yes, sir.' He then said, 'Try and read it.' Which I did; and when he listened to its contents, he laughed and smiled till it was finished. He then said, 'It is exactly as I wanted; now fold it according to custom, and enclose it in yellow cloth;' and after it had been enclosed in yellow cloth, he put his signature and gave it to the messengers."

It will be observed that the communication of the Siamese Raja was in the language and letters of the Malays, accounted by him as an inferior and subdued people, and I think Raffles was wrong in corresponding in such a language. The correspondence should have been either in English or Siamese. The idea of the signification of the wanting corner appears to be fanciful, but the same fact was related to me by my old friend Kokchai, a Chinese of Penang, and holding the office of Siamese Consul. The mode of reply cannot be considered otherwise than childish, and unbecoming an

English Governor, but it is too circumstantially related to be untrue. Thus another *bureau* secret is candidly developed. The style of answer is, however, consonant with oriental manners, and reminds me of an old incident related in the *Sijara Malaya* to this effect. Radin Inu Marawangsa, Raja of Majapahit, hearing of the extensive country of Singapore, sent an ambassador to Raja Vicrama Vira with a shaving of wood seven fathoms long, as fine as paper—its texture being nowhere cut or torn, and the whole rolled up in the form of a ring. The royal letter drew the attention of the King of Singapore to this shaving formed with a hatchet, and he inquired if his kingdom produced such clever artificers. Vicrama Vira, on hearing the letter read, sent for Pewang Bentau, who, in the presence of the Majapahit ambassador, hewed the hair of the head of a boy forty days old. The hatchet with which the feat was performed was sent to Majapahit with the ambassador, who quickly took his leave and departed. The Raja of Majapahit interpreted the message of the Singapore king as a threat that he would shave his head if he dared to come to Singapore, and so equipped a powerful fleet, which having arrived was beaten back.* The letter of Sir Stamford, it may be remarked, did not bring about this contingency. However, Burmah at this time had encroached within two hundred miles of Calcutta, and it was the policy to keep friends with Siam. His policy gave existence to the embassy of Colonel Burney, who concluded a treaty with Siam in 1826.

Great events have taken place since these days, much darkness of ignorance having been dispelled. In 1855, the reigning prince of Siam was one of the most intelligent of Asiatic monarchs, being both learned and scientific. Abdulla's vanity was pardonable under the

* Braddell's Extracts.

circumstances, he having been made the instrument of correspondence between his powerful silver-footed majesty and the representative of the merchant princes of England.

My late friend Mr. Hunter, of Bangkok, shortly after this date opened trade with Siam, and was the means of nourishing a large intercourse, and thus creating a better understanding, though he himself latterly incurred the displeasure of the Siamese authorities. He it was who discovered the world-known Siamese twins, whom to his astonishment he saw when swimming in the Menan, in sight of their mother, and with whom he soon made arrangements, in which the interests of the subjects themselves were well guarded, for their exhibition in Europe and America. He used to recount to me many amusing traits and habits of the child twins as he observed them when they were first taken charge of.

XVII.

RAFFLES AND THE GAMBLING FARM.

"Now, to my notion, who am a simple person, and have little special knowledge, Mr. Raffles' strong measures against gambling were good and excellent. Furthermore, they were unexceptionable on many accounts. In the first place they were humane, tending to save people from destruction; for gambling is destructive of man, as it encourages cheating and evil propensities. Further, gambling is the father of wickedness, and it has three children by name—the oldest being Mr. Falsehood, the second being Mr. Thief, and the youngest being Mr. Murderer. And these three destroy this world. Now, if it be thought that Mr. Raffles sought his own gain, could he not have drawn from the gambling farm thousands of dollars monthly, for which people would have bought it? Then did he mean to lose all this for no reason at all? Now, if the Malays held the government of Singapore, certainly they would have sold the gambling farm—giving as a reason for doing so that money was of use in this world, but of no use in the world to come. But were we to tell them to teach their children good lessons, then they would ask, What is the use of the knowledge we have to learn in this world, since it will be of no use in the world to come? Then look at Mr. Raffles. Was it not his object to guard all

mankind in this world, as well as in the world to come? For do not gamblers not only bring evil on mankind in this world, but, more than that, they bring evil on themselves in the world to come?"

These sentiments are worthy of John Bunyan, of whose style they are a reminder, and are tersely put. The arguments of the Malays remind one of the man that drunk a jug of brandy daily. The jug had an angel painted in the bottom; so, when the man was asked why he drank so much, he said that he wished to see the angel. A jug was now substituted by his friends with the devil in the same place, yet he emptied it all the same; and when remonstrated with by his friends, his ready reply was that he did not like to leave the devil a drop. In other words, there are always excuses for bad courses, as Abdulla tells us.

It will be seen that Abdulla gives Raffles the credit of giving up the gambling farm out of his personal income. This is a common mistake with orientals in estimating the English, owing to their system of farming provinces to the Pashas, who make what they can out of them.

XVIII.

DEPARTURE OF SIR S. RAFFLES.

"I FELT that as long as Mr. Raffles was at Singapore he would keep me in mind, as he knew all my circumstances, and the place where I made a living by my profession. Moreover, he introduced me to the European gentlemen, by making known my capabilities, and that my disposition was good towards the Government officials as well as towards the merchants. He, in the first place, directed me to teach Malay to the Europeans as well as the native customs. It was settled that each should have one hour, at the rate of ten dollars a month; for at that time there were six or seven to teach, some coming to my house, myself going also to theirs. Again, I was required to write letters for post to the Malay Rajas by the English merchants, to make out receipts and auction lists, for these times were not such as they are at present; for then it was the usage to post a note of auction at each corner, in Malay, Chinese, Kling, and English, stating the time of sale and the warehouses of So-and-so, with such and such goods to be sold. Further, in regard to Chinese merchants dealing with Malays, I wrote out both letters and receipts for them. Again, when Chinese traded with the English, from the latter not understanding Malay, nor the Chinese English, I was in such cases called in as interpreter, wherein I

made them understand to the best of my knowledge. Where others made joint ventures it was the same, and so forth. God was gracious to me at that time; but, owing to my stupidity and thoughtlessness, I did not save the rain-water, for I thought it would always pour. I forgot that the world was a changing one, and that drought might come, when it would be difficult to get water.

Now as to my thoughtlessness (and I acknowledge my stupidity), it was thus: I was eight or nine months in Singapore. I then returned to Malacca, to remain two or three months, my gains thus stopping, and that which I had saved being expended. So I returned to Singapore, and in such circumstances many of the merchants desired to assist me in trade; others agreed to give me two or three thousand dollars, without interest, if I would determine to remain in Singapore, and bring my wife and children there. I thought this but right, and made my best endeavours to do so; but it could not be. I had even got ready all the material for a house, with fixtures, for shipment in two days' time, to go to Singapore, when there came twenties of men and women crying, giving counsel at the caprice of each, as if one were going to die. This unnerved me, so that I abandoned my intention, and my wife and children remained, I going alone. And when I arrived at the Sillat (Singapore) I found my house in disorder, as no one was in charge of it, so I became depressed at having no one in it. Brooding over this, my troubles increased, so I sold my house to Mr. Hay. Now, if I had been fixed in Singapore, I would have had another kind of life of it; but it was by the will of the Lord, who knows what is pure and righteous —as the proverb says, a pint cannot be a gallon. There are some that find fault with me, as being unlike one that had sense under such circumstances; so they

behove to take an example by my story, so that they may put an end to a bad custom which is adhered to, according to the feelings of the Malacca people, by which it is held to be low and not respectable to take a woman of repute from one country to another, which people talk of as a reproach and scandal. But this is a stupid custom, arising from the senseless, the warrant for which is not to be had out of any book or rules of faith; for it is set forth in many works, wherever the husband be, so should the wife be also, to guard her from punishment in the world to come—that is, from adultery, faintness, and more especially as to food and clothing, and such like. But from this bad custom one becomes hardened. And, added to this, there were no others of my profession nor of my acquirements; and supposing there were others in my line, one of them would not follow me. And just like the Chinese females of Malacca, such is their way—from the beginning not one would leave Malacca; and now that so many of their sons had occupation at Singapore, one began to take his wife and children, when another followed his example. Thus, at the present day, they flit from one place to the other without it being remarked, or it even being thought disreputable, for they now all do the same.

At that time I was like a person frightened out of his sleep—when it rained hard, I took no notice to catch some water—now I trust with full confidence in the Lord, that directs the rain to fall, giving to each his share, and not a whit more nor less than is right, and I offer up a thousand of praises to Him, as I have received my portion before and now. For, by my desires and covetousness, I would wish for what is more than right. On that account I was as one asleep during a heavy shower, and only when it had stopped falling did I awake to set about gaining that which is right.

Then, on a certain day, Mr. Raffles said to me, 'Tuan (sir), I intend to sail in three days hence, so collect all my Malay books.' And when I heard this, my heart palpitated and my spirit was gone. So I asked him where he was going, when he told me he was going to Europe; and when I heard this, I could bear it no longer, I felt as if I had lost father and mother—such was my condition, that my eyes were bathed in tears. When he perceived this, his face became flushed, and, wiping his tears with his handkerchief, he told me not to be disheartened, for if he lived he intended to return to Singapore. 'The reason of my going is that I have a misunderstanding with Colonel Farquhar. This I want to put an end to; and if put an end to, then I will return.* So make yourself easy, and don't be afraid; we will see each other again. And now I will give you a note, which you can take care of; and so long as there are English in Singapore, show it to them and you will get occupation, as you have had from me. And if you wish to enter the police service as interpreter, you have only to show it to the magistrate, and you will get the office.' To this I replied, that I did not like to enter the police service, because I would have to swear people. But he said that for swearing-in people another could be appointed on separate salary. I thereupon expressed my assent. So he said that if I did not remain with the merchants I could go to the other work, and that he would give me a note to Mr. Gobrus, who would give me good pay; 'but I think it will be very tiresome, and you will not like it—you had better stick to your writing, and teaching English gentlemen.' To this I replied that I would do as he directed.

* There is an obscurity here. The word used is برسلسيد which is like برسلسي to settle, and برسليسه to differ. Again, the word خلس is not in Marsden, so I translate it as جليس to the end.

He then called me into the room and told me that there were three presses filled with Malay books, and to wrap them up well in wax cloth, and pack them in hair trunks, four in number. There were also Javanese instruments and various other articles; and when he had shown me all these he went out, so with my own hands I packed up all the books, histories and poems. Of these there were three hundred bound books, not counting the unbound ones, and scrolls and pamphlets. There were three hair trunks full, six feet in length, of Malay books only. Then there were two trunks filled with letters, Javanese, Bali, and Bujis books, and various images, paintings with their frames, musical instruments, inscriptions, and lontar leaves. Of these there were three or four boxes. Besides this, the Javanese instruments, with their equipments, were in one great box, and there were many thousands of specimens of animals, whose carcases had been taken out, but stuffed like life. There were also two or three trunks full of birds in thousands, and of various species, and all stuffed. There were also several hundred bottles, of different sizes, filled with snakes, scorpions, and worms of different kinds. The bottles were filled with gin to prevent corruption. The animals were thus like life. There were also two boxes filled with coral of a thousand kinds; also shells, mussels, and bivalves of different species. On all these articles stated above he placed a value greater than gold; and he was constantly coming in to see that nothing was hurt or broken. And when they were al ready they were shipped by a lighter; and when they were all safely on board he called me into his office, saying, 'Tuan (sir), take this letter and keep it with care,—it is to the same effect as the one I gave you at Malacca,—and when English gentlemen arrive here, show it to them, and they will have regard for you. And

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should you take office in a court of justice as interpreter, show it to the Governor, so that you will get a higher salary than Malays usually obtain. Don't be distressed. If I live, I shall certainly return to Singapore; but if I die, may you prosper. Study English till you are well acquainted with it. Here is another note, and after I have sailed, take it to Mr. Gobrus (Wingrove ?)—he will give you 200 dollars. Take that for your expenses; and if I return, I intend to have many books copied about the countries around, and I will acknowledge how much you have assisted me in the Malay language, and in acquiring the books, etc., before alluded to. I will relate this so that Europeans may know and trust you in your occupation.' I was silent while I took the testimonial, my eyes flowing with tears from great grief; the day was as if my father and mother had died.

Such was my separation from Mr. Raffles. I was not distressed about my livelihood, or because of his greatness, or because of my losing him; but because of his noble bearing, his justness, modesty, and respect to his fellow-men. All these I remember to this day. There are many great men besides him, clever, rich, and handsome, but in good disposition, amiability, and gracefulness, Mr. Raffles had not his equal. And were I to die and live again, such a man I could never meet again, my love of him is so great; and of him I have composed many pantuns, of which the following is one:—

Burong belibis diatas lantei,
  Boah rambei dedulampadi;
Tuan Raffles orang pandei,
  Tau sungoh mengambil hati.

Boah rambei dedalam padi,
  Lezzat chita bulah rusania;
Pandei sungoh mengambil hati,
  Serta dingan budi bhasa nia.

Lezzat chita bulah rusania,
  Jeruju dingan durian;
Serta dingan budi bhasa nia,
  Situju pula dingan istri nia.

Jeruju dingan durian,
  De tepi jalan orang ber lari;
Situju pula dingan istri nia,
  Seperti bulan dingan mata hari.

Which may be rendered as follows:—

The teal is on a bamboo lath,
  The rambei in a rice ground;
And Raffles is a clever man,
  He draws affection all around.

The rambei in a rice ground,
  Love and pleasure's only place;
He draws affection all around,
  By qualities of wit and grace.

Love and pleasure's only place,
  Jeruju and the durian;
By qualities of wit and grace,
  His lady also we must scan.

Jeruju and the durian,
  Along the path the people run;
His lady also we must scan,
  As we behold the moon and sun.

Then, when I had taken the two notes, Mr. Raffles and his lady embarked, followed by hundreds of people of all races, myself amongst the rest, as far as the ship; and when they had ascended the ship's side, and the crew were raising the anchor, Mr. Raffles called me to him, and I went into his cabin, where I observed that his face was flushed as if he had been wiping his tears. He told me to return and not be distressed: 'If it is to be, I will see you again.' His lady now came and gave me twenty-five dollars, saying, 'I give these to your children in Malacca;' and when I heard this, my heart burned the more by this act of grace. I thanked her very much, clasping them by the hand in tears, and then descended

to my sampan; and when I had been off some distance, I turned round and saw Mr. Raffles looking out of the window, when I again saluted him. He raised his hand to me. This was just as the sails were being hoisted; and the vessel sailed.

Then, on the morrow, I took the note to Mr. Gobrus (Wingrove?), and showed it to him. On seeing it he said, 'Sign it, and I will pay the money.' I then made out a receipt to the effect that, on such a day and such a month I had received 200 dollars, when they were paid me, with much thankfulness on my part for Mr. Raffles' remembrance. Now, from the day of Mr. Raffles' sailing I have had no pleasure, but only grief.

Moreover, after Mr. Raffles' departure, Colonel Farquhar governed Singapore, and in all important matters he followed Mr. Raffles' example, in coalition with the Sultan and Tomungong. Singapore now was under fixed laws and customs, as established by Mr. Raffles, from which Colonel Farquhar did not diverge.

I again returned to Malacca for two or three months, when, on returning to Singapore, I learnt from Colonel Farquhar that the ship in which Mr. Raffles was a passenger, having sailed from Bencoolin, had on the same evening been burnt, with all his baggage and collections, nothing being saved but Mr. Raffles and his wife. And when I heard this news I was breathless, remembering all the Malay books of ancient date collected from various countries—all these lost with the wonderful collection. As to his other property I did not care, for, if his life were spared, he could reinstate this. But the books could not be recovered, for none of them were printed, but in manuscript—they were so rare that one country might have only two of them; that is what distressed me. I further remembered his intention of composing a work on these countries, and his promise

to put my name in it. All this was gone. When I thought of him I was the more grieved because it not only was a great personal loss to him, but to Europe, inasmuch as he had material for several histories—one on Celebes, one on Borneo, one on Singapore, besides many other subjects—but the material of all these was now gone. My thoughts then turned to the origin of his taking them, but I consoled myself that he himself was saved; in this there was praise due to God, who orders to be and not to be, and acknowledgments are due to His power over His slaves."

In the foregoing translation, information is incidentally given which has often been wanted by Europeans, viz. the real cause why females in China and adjacent countries will not emigrate. No doubt, moreover, female emigration in Malay countries is opposed by the rajas, as it reduces their already scanty populations.

Abdulla here mentions that Sir Stamford addressed him as Tuan, which signifies lord or master, and is used by an inferior while addressing a superior. This, if correct, indicates greater condescension than is usually accorded by Europeans. By native courtesy Abdulla should have been addressed as Inchi, or by name, that is, Abdulla; this would have been in consonance with their respective positions.

Abdulla gives a literary photograph of the collection of treasures made by Sir Stamford—a collection lost to the world by the burning of the ship *Fame*. Raffles' sorrow and Abdulla's grief are alike creditable to both, and in this we see how much personal influence attaches the natives. It reminds one of some of the characters described by Sir Walter Scott, an element which has

now faded out of British society. In the colonies we have the converse, where servants often over-reach their masters, and ultimately become possessors of their estates and furniture. A mistress has been known to take a nurse out to New Zealand, and, after some years, herself go back to England in the capacity of nurse to her old servant. This state of things is what is called popular.

The above translation, however, gives a very agreeable picture of the intercourse between a Christian and a Mahomedan, and so is well worthy of our attention, as it proves how influential personal knowledge of each other's good qualities is in subduing animosity and fierce sectarian hatred. That such mutual affection and respect should occasionally be generated is surely a subject for congratulation. In my own limited experience I can claim to have known several most estimable men amongst the different races, Malays, Chinese, and Tamils, and the names of three occur to me as the most conspicuous, amongst many others, viz., Yusof, of Sungei, Glugar, Penang; Kadersah, of Nagore, India; and Ah Hoh, of Canton, China. These were men who in their humble way had many noble qualities, amongst which were good-nature and fidelity.

As a contrast to the philanthropic measures of Sir Stamford Raffles, let us revert to the state of things three or more centuries ago; and turning to the autobiography of the Emperor Babar, * a Mahomedan descendant of Changiz Khan and Timur—who was born in 1482, and died in 1530, and who, after a victory, used pretty uniformly to erect a triumphal pyramid of skulls —we find him saying, in one of his incursions into Hindostan, that "immense numbers of the dead bodies of the Pagans and apostates had fallen in their flight all the way to Bayana, and even as far as Alwar and Mewat."

* Elliott's Translations.

Again, at the citadel of Chanderi, he says, "The Pagans who were stationed in the covered way took to flight, and that part of the works was taken. They did not defend the upper fort with so much obstinacy, and were quickly put to flight; the assailants climbed up, and entered the upper fort by storm. In a short time the Pagans, in a state of complete nudity, rushed * out to attack us, put numbers of my people to flight, and leaped over the ramparts. Some of our troops were attacked furiously, and put to the sword. The reason of this desperate sally from their works was that, in giving up the place for lost, they had put to death the whole of their wives and women, and having resolved to perish, had stripped themselves naked, in which condition they had rushed out to fight; and, engaging with ungovernable desperation, drove our people along the ramparts. Two or three hundred Pagans had entered Medini Rao's house, where numbers of them slew each other in the following manner:—one person took his stand with a sword in his hand, while the others one by one crowded in, and stretched out their necks eager to die. In this way many went to hell; and, by the favour of God, in the space of two or three *gharis* I gained the celebrated fort without raising my standard or beating my kettle-drum, and without using the whole strength of my arms. On the top of the hill to the north-west of Chanderi, I erected a tower of heads of the Pagans." . . .

Such is an account of Mahomedan transactions in Hindostan. We will now go to a Christian one of about the same date. Vasco de Gama, after having overcome a Malabar fleet, we are told by Gasper Correa,† ordered his people to cut off the hands, ears, and noses of all the vanquished crews, and put all into one of the small vessels, into which he ordered them to put the friar, also

* Amoked in Malay. † See works of Hakluyt Society.

without ears, nose, or hands, which he ordered to be strung round his neck, with a palm-leaf for the king, on which he was told to have curry made to eat of what this friar had brought him. When all the Indians had been thus mutilated, he ordered their feet to be tied together, as they had no hands with which to untie them; and in order that they should not untie them with their teeth, he ordered them to strike upon their teeth with staves, and they knocked them down their throats; and they were thus put on board, heaped up upon the top of each other, mixed with the blood which streamed from them; and he ordered mats and dried leaves to be spread over them, and the sails to be set for the shore, and the vessel set on fire; and there were more than 800 Moors; and the small vessel with the friar, with all the hands and ears, was also sent on shore under sail without being set on fire.

Again, Vicente Lodre having caught a Moorish captain, "He ordered two negroes to strip him and tie him to the boat's mast by the waist, feet, and neck, and to give him, with two tarred ropes, so many stripes on the back and stomach, which was very fat, that he remained like dead, for he swooned from the blood which flowed from him. Upon this he ordered him to be unbound, and he remained stretched out half dead." Again, "He ordered them to put dirt into his mouth, and fastened on the top of it a piece of bacon, which he sent for from the ship for that purpose; and, with his mouth gagged with a short stick, and his hands tied behind him, he ordered the others to take him away and go and embark. The Moors offered ten thousand pardaos of gold, which were in the bag, if they would not put the dirt in his mouth. This the captain would not take."

From such sickening details we turn with pleasure to the account of our autobiographer, a Mahomedan, and

his recapitulation of acts of grace and kindness by a Christian gentleman and lady towards himself. Where ignorance, bigotry, and rapacity rule, we encounter the former; where knowledge, expansiveness, and generosity triumph, we find the latter.

XIX.

DEPARTURE OF COLONEL FARQUHAR.

"NOT long after this, Colonel Farquhar also made up his mind to return to Europe; and when the report got abroad, the Singapore people were very much distressed, because he had been a good Governor, clever and careful of his people. The Malacca people especially felt this, as he had been as a father to them. From the time he had been in both countries, he had never hurt any one's feelings, nor done but what was right; to all races he had been equally fatherly, helping them much and counselling them. On this account all loved him with fear, for his decisions were just. There was in his disposition a high excellence, that, in whatever measure or regulation, he had no leaning to the rich or to the poor, but all were the same to him. Now, it cannot be denied that many high officials regard the wealthy rather than the poor. So, when they give their decisions, they come heavy on the poor, and light on the rich. It thus follows that high officials hoarded wealth quickly, by taking a deal of bribes. These deeds deserve the fires of hell, and they set God far from them, and so also from all good and reputable people, by their covetousness for the goods of this flitting world.

So all the people of Singapore made ready presents, requisites for a procession, prows, and musical instru-

ments; and on the day before he intended to sail, thousands of them came to see him. Some wept outright, knowing his goodness; but others feigned it, to make people believe that they were friends of his. Others brought various kinds of presents, Chinese in Chinese fashion, Malays in Malay fashion, Klings in Kling fashion. He took the names of all these, and returned the value in money; to some he gave cloth, others European articles as they desired. He was thus so careful of the people's love. Thus it continued for two days; the people's eyes were wet, and whoever came to see him he gave them advice and best wishes, and tendered his help in directing them, adding that he was returning to his country, but if he lived he would come back to Singapore. He said this with tears in his eyes, as his earnest feelings were to remain. All these days numbers of poor people gathered around him asking charity, and he gave a share to all. His sons and daughters were also all in tears, sitting in grief. Moreover, there were provisions, sweetmeats, pickles, and various kinds of meats, and hundreds of bags, jars, and bottles, which were given to people in heaps.

Then, on the morrow, all races turned out with their prows decorated with flags, and accompanied by music and presents. The prows were in hundreds. After all was ready, the harbour resounded with Chinese, Malay, Kling, and Javanese bands of instruments. There was firing of guns and crackers, as the people followed the boat of *Raja* Farquhar; and when it was perceived by the officials and Europeans, that all races gave such reverence and greatness to Colonel Farquhar, they became divided, one party being glad, the other angry with spite. Some thus said: 'What is the use of paying respect to him? He has no standing here—he has no power over us.' This sentiment met with this reply:

'It is not because he is a great man or a little man, rich or poor, but because of his amiability—on that account only; from this comes the excessive love of the people for him.' This silenced the officials, for by this time Mr. Crawfurd had assumed the government of Singapore; and when he (Mr. Crawfurd) saw this, he was astonished and humiliated, because people took no notice of him, nor did they respect him.

So when Colonel Farquhar had dressed and eaten in his house, he embarked in a ketch, and thousands of people followed him from his house to the seashore, each and every one bidding him good-bye, and offering their respects; and in receiving each, he was detained two hours before he could get into the vessel, his tears flowing. He then took off his hat and bid them good-bye—this four or five times to the crowd. Hundreds of prows that were waiting now followed him with loud acclamations. This astonished him so much that he bent himself down. The people in the prows now fired cannons,guns, and crackers, some sang, some fiddled, each to their notion—the Chinese in the fashion of Chinese, the Malays in the fashion of Malays, the Klings in the fashion of Klings—making the whole sea resound. This went on till he had arrived at the ship, which he ascended. The prows now surrounded the ship, and the crews now also boarded to say good-bye. He received each with kind words which consoled them, counselling them with much eloquence. The appearance of the scene was as a father amongst his children, till all were weeping; he wept also. After awhile they took leave and descended to their prows, which returned to the shore; and as they were departing, Colonel Farquhar came to the side of the ship, and, taking off his hat, he bade them farewell four or five times. They returned the salute, crying out, '*Salamat!* (safety to you!) Sail

with a good wind, that you may arrive at your country, to see your parents and relations. *Salamat!* Long life to you, that you may come back again to be our governor.' He now waved his hat three times, when the sails were loosened and set, and the people in the prows now returned to their houses. They were as people in deep grief; and for days, wherever I went, people were always talking of him and Mr. Raffles as good men. Many spoke in loud praise of them and their dispositions—in amiability, gracefulness, and pleasant faces.

Now, all this I relate that people may take example by it—I mean such people as have wit and sense to understand my argument in this my story, as I now relate it, of the affairs of good and intelligent men; so that, if possible, you, O reader, may imitate the same, in regard to disposition, grace, and intelligence, as already described. As the proverb says, 'Better to die with a good name, than live with a bad one.'"

The departure of Colonel Farquhar appears to have created an ovation proceeding from real respect on the part of the native population. In my experience I have always found them susceptible of good feeling when treated with kindness and consideration. After their departure, Raffles and Farquhar were, with one or two exceptions, succeeded by men of no mark—men who were content to draw their monthly salaries, and live on the prestige of the great and good men that had preceded them. Some will be slightly remembered for the quality and quantity of their champagne, but not for public measures of any consequence. The high value set upon the services of Raffles and Farquhar by the natives

was owing to their having studied their character, bias, and language, and thus understanding their peculiar genius and the motives that actuated them. With this knowledge, and a generous forbearance, though otherwise rigid in measures, they were in a position to forward British interests beyond calculation. To appreciate the value of Raffles' services in expanding British influence all over the wide Archipelago, the benefits of which, however, were much curtailed by the force of European politics, we may only turn to Singapore, for many years the great and only mart in these regions. We find that, from a small fishing village in 1819, it expanded to be an emporium having commercial connection with all parts of the world, its imports in 1853 amounting to over twenty-one millions of Spanish dollars, and exports to over seventeen millions.

XX.

JOHN CRAWFURD, ESQ., F.R.S.

"Moreover, after Colonel Farquhar had sailed, Mr. Crawfurd held the reins in Singapore. Thus, though it was true that the country had a Government,—the appearance and feeling was as is described in the *pantun*, Can ten scattered stars equal one moon?'—Singapore was like a widow whose husband had just died, her hair dishevelled, her face gloomy, sitting in grief; for her glory had gone.

Now let all you people who have understanding, foresight, and consideration, look at this subject fully, and all other affairs that I bring forward. Now if you are such as I am, they will appear the same to you. Both good men and bad men have their rice in their pots (meaning, have their living). To fill the belly, that is enough. As the saying goes,—'If ten ships arrive, the dogs still conceal their nudities by their tails;' the meaning of which is, those may go away who like, and those may come to govern who like; but this is of no consequence to the population. Under this feeling each lives unconcernedly the life allotted to him, which circumstance I liken to a tree that has no fruit; what use is it to mankind, but to be felled and split up for fire-wood?"

Abdulla had apparently not found favour with Mr. Crawfurd. The cause of this may be guessed at in the jealousies of authorship between Raffles and Crawfurd, who worked on the same ground, and who criticised each other in the English Reviews. Abdulla would be known as a strong adherent of Raffles, and thus contact would be shunned on either side. The gentleman commented on was John Crawfurd, Esq., F.R.S., well known at the Athenæum, London, and the several scientific societies. He died lately, at a ripe old age, having devoted his time and labours to the completion of many useful and laborious works; such as the History of the Indian Archipelago, a Malay Dictionary, a Gazetteer of the Indian Islands, etc., etc., etc.

The proverbs adduced by way of illustration of his feelings, are such as would occur to people living in a trading mart under the rule of foreigners, such as the British are in the natives' eyes. They see ships come and go daily, yet their condition remains the same. Abdulla, with more ambition than his countrymen, is annoyed at this continuance in a state of nature, which is the gist of his allusion to the slight covering given to dogs. The apathy of his countrymen he is disgusted at, and exclaims that the tree (*i.e.* their lives) has (or have) no good fruit, so it is (or they are) only fit for destruction, or base objects. How would Herbert Spencer agree with these sentiments? Can all the population of the world advance to perfection?

XXI.

WONDERS OF ENGLISH SURGERY.

"Moreover, I was in Mr. Thomsen's employment at that time, but was at the same time teaching many of the European merchants Malay; but owing to the great heat of Singapore town, I was taken ill with a complaint which gave me great pain, so I could not walk far. In a week I was two or three times unwell, and two or three times could not rise from my couch. And at that time I was teaching a merchant who stopped at the house of Mr. Morgan, and I was ill for three days, so that I could not go out. But after this I was a little easy; so I went slowly to Mr. Morgan's house, and as I was ascending the stairs, I saw a white gentleman (*i.e.* European) reclining on a couch in the verandah, engaged in reading a book. He was a stranger, so as I entered I bowed to him. And when Mr. Morgan saw me, he asked what made me so lean, as if I was sick. So I told him of my complaint and its endurance; further, that many Malays, Chinese, and Klings, had doctored me with no effect; but that I only grew worse and worse. I told him how much I was pained by the complaint. And when he heard this, he went and spoke of it to the gentleman that was reclining, who called me forward and asked me if he could examine me. So he took me into his room, and when he had examined me, he told

me that he could make me all right in a moment. My heart jumped at this; so I said, 'Very well, let me have the medicine to cure me.' To this he answered, with a smile, that he would not give me medicine, but that he would tap me, by which operation I would be well at once. To this I replied, that numbers had doctored me, but they told me I could not get well again, as there was slime in my body. He now felt me and asked, 'Who said there was slime,—fools! In Bengal, out of hundreds of people, and twenties of times, I have taken two or three bottlefuls, which cured them at once.' 'But,' said I, 'how do you take out the liquid?' He replied to this, that he pierced them a little, so as not to hurt them, when the liquid came out. But when I heard of his piercing them, I became afraid of dying. He now told me not to be afraid of dying, for he would place 1000 dollars in the court as an earnest of his promise. And when I heard this, it occurred to me that 100,000 dollars were not equal to my life. So I left him and went to Mr. Morgan. This gentleman asked me what the doctor said about it. I now understood for the first time that the gentleman was a doctor; so I told him all about it. When he asked me where I could have better luck, for he was the chief physician, travelling for his health; he was worth a thousand of those to be got here; adding, 'You had better trust him; he is very clever, he has worked miracles; so you would do well to listen to him.' And when I heard his advice, I faltered, half believing, half fearing. So I went back to the doctor, who asked me if he should perform the operation at once; but I told him to wait till I had spoken to Mr. Thomsen, as I knew him well. To this he replied, 'Very good; but be quick, as in three days I wish to sail.' To this I replied, 'Very good; but let me go now.' He followed me to the stairs, when I

perceived that he was a little lame, which made me look; and when he saw me scanning his feet, he smiled, asking me at the same time what I was looking at his feet for. I replied, for nothing. He then took off his stocking, when I saw that it was a timber foot, joined to his leg, but his knee was the same as ours. He then told me that his leg had been broken by a cannon ball in a battle in Bengal, and the part cut off had been replaced by a wooden model. This astonished me greatly, when I looked at the contrivances of Europeans. Life only they cannot restore, but all the rest.

So I bade him good-bye, and went away to Mr. Thomsen, letting him know all the circumstances. He then told me, 'Where will you have such a chance again? How much would you not have to spend if you got others to do it? Further, he is eminent in all that relates to the bodies of men. So go quickly to him, whilst he is here.' I told him then that I was dreadfully afraid that some mischief might be done me. To this he replied, 'Don't be afraid. Don't you know he gets a salary from the Company of thousands a month? So you had better trust him.' I could not deny this; and it is true I heard his words, but yet I was afraid.

So I returned home in great trouble about this, and brooded over the matter. And there was a countryman of mine living with me, to whom I related my difficulties. And when he had heard all, he advised me to have nothing to do with the business, as it was the custom with Europeans to kill one and cure another; and further, were my father, mother, and wife to get wind of it at Malacca, how grieved would they not be. In other modes he set to dissuade me, till I was half frantic at my having let him into my council. People had been attentive from their own good-will, and now he was frightening me.

So I sat ruminating till midnight. Then there came a thought that my time was come; that I should die now or on the morrow. So I took a paper and made my will, and I appointed Mr. Thomsen as my trustee, making him executor over all my estate, for and on behalf of my wife and children at Malacca; and I did this entirely of my own free will. After this I sat awhile till it was daylight, when I asked my countryman to go along with me to Mr. Thomsen, to whom I showed and read the paper. He then said, 'Don't you think so much about this. The affair is a slight one. I will go with you.' We then went to the doctor, and found him walking up and down the verandah. And when he saw me, he stepped quickly to the head of the stair and waited for me. And directly we met, he asked me if I wished the operation to be performed, and I told him yes. He then went into his room, and opened a box, when I saw twenties of knives of various kinds and of great sharpness; some were crooked, others like lancets, others like saws. So he said to me, 'Sit there, and don't be afraid; it is only for a moment.' I then said to him, 'There is a countryman of mine outside; allow him to be with me, to see the affair.' To this he assented. On his coming to me, and in the midst of our conversation, the doctor had got a thin pointed knife, which he held in his fingers. He then said, 'Let me see you;' and when he had seen me, he told me again not to be afraid, as my friend should see also. My body now trembled with fear. He then pressed the knife in slowly, creating a sensation as if I were bitten by ants. He then unscrewed the handle, so that the blade remained inside. On this the liquid gushed out, when the doctor placed a vessel to hold the contents. The draining continued about a quarter of an hour. He then told me to walk backwards and forwards, when the liquid still ran. At last it

stopped. He then took some cotton, and mixing it with medicine, I found that my complaint was gone; I felt as I used to be. The liquid taken from me was like drinking water, without smell and colourless. My pleasure was so great that I cannot describe it. I felt as one dead risen to life again. The doctor now told me to go and show the liquid to the Malays. He then told us to put the liquid into a skin, to hang up, and to let the skin be cleaned, so that he might see its power to take in water. Then he added, 'Take it to Mr. Thomsen.' He further inquired how I felt. I replied that I had no other feeling but a slight sensation. To this he said, 'No fear.' So I carried the liquid to Mr. Thomsen, and showed it, much to his astonishment, he telling me that he had never seen the like; but adding, 'How do you feel?' when I told him the illness had gone.

I then carried the liquid home, and called twenties of Malays, Klings, and Chinese to show it to them and let them know of the whole circumstances. This astonished them greatly. I then filled two bottles full with the liquid, and sent them to my wife and mother, with an account of the whole affair. And when they knew of the miracle at Malacca, numbers came to see the bottles at my house in Malacca, saying, 'He has copied the knowingness of the European; but as for us, rather would we die of the complaint, for we dare not do such a thing.'

On the morrow I went again to see the doctor, and when he saw me he laughed, saying, 'Is Abdulla not dead?' And he saw that I was better. And it was seen that near the spot where I was pierced there was a swelling. And, on the day before, he had pierced below this, and because of the little skin a sore had gathered. He then said that he was about to sail on the morrow, but that he would give me a note, as in three months the

complaint would return; so this was to show to the local surgeon, that he might know how to treat me. So I took the note with a thousand thanks for his assistance. I felt if I had been a rich man that I would have given him 500 dollars for healing me. So on the morrow he was to sail, I then brought 300 mangosteens and four bags of halwa, and took them as a present to him. And when he saw these he laughed, saying he could not take them, but that he would buy them. It was not for these that he doctored me. So he brought out the money to pay me; but I would not take it, till I wept and begged hard of him. At last he said, 'Never mind, I will take your present, for I see that you are one that can return a kindness.' So I followed him to the ship, and as I was going away I bade him good-bye, on which he gave me a musical box, saying, 'Take this to play with.' So I took it to prevent annoying him. I thanked him for it, and he sailed that night.

The news got abroad in Singapore and Malacca that I had been cured, when a country-born Kling and a country-born Chinese came to see me, asking me to take them to the doctor; but I told them that he had sailed. They had faith in him, and one fell a-crying because of his years of suffering from the complaint. In a week more, two men came from Malacca, with the same complaint, having heard that I had got better, wishing to be treated by the doctor; but when they heard he had sailed, they also began to cry.

After three months, as foreseen, my complaint returned, when I told Mr. Thomsen of the note that had been given me to show to the local surgeon. This he told me to do; and having taken it to the surgeon, he followed the directions therein contained, extracting at this time one and a half bottlefuls of liquid. He then took red wine and squirted it in, which pained me so much that I

thought my life was going. He then drew it out, and along with it thin slime, and then put in some medicine. I was then well from that time till now. The doctor also told me to wear an underbrace, because of the heat of the country, which tends to the complaint."

This is a characteristic and well-told account of the wonders of surgery and its beneficent influence in alleviating human misery. The small present, by way of showing gratitude, consisted of that most delicious fruit, the mangosteen, and most palatable sweetmeat, the halwa, made of camels' milk, sugar, etc., an Arabic confection. Such amenities of intercourse are most grateful in their results. The misery of the poor creatures unrelieved must have been most pitiable.

Abdulla, after the above, gives an account of the Chinese secret society called the Tan Tae Hoey, which would be of little interest to general readers; so we proceed to the next translation.

XXII.

TREATY OF SINGAPORE.

"I WILL now relate the affairs which passed between Sultan Hussain Shah and Mr. Crawfurd. And first in regard to the expenses allotted by Mr. Raffles, which had been fixed at 1000 dollars a month to the above, and 700 dollars to the Tomungong. These allowances they had received from the beginning till now, as encouragement to allegiance. And as the month's end came, so did the Sultan's followers come to get the money. But now Mr. Crawfurd told them that the East India Company had not enough of money, so they must wait for a month or two, till it came from Bengal. So they retired and reported to their Sultan. He was silent. But at the end of another month they went again to get the money, but Mr. Crawfurd told the same story. They retired again to tell the Sultan. The Sultan wondered at this, for in his opinion it was not correct that the East India Company was hard up, but that there was some pretence only; so he waited. But he also was in difficulties, having mortgaged his property to meet expenses, and even then he was straitened. This went on for three months, till they could bear Mr. Crawfurd's refusal no longer. So the Sultan and Tomungong went to see him; and when they met he paid due respect to them, shaking them by the hands and asking them to be seated.

I now must ask pardon of such gentlemen as read my story, for it is necessary that they should know the disposition and appearance of Sultan Hussain; for new comers have not seen him. For this reason I must describe him. When he first arrived in Singapore from Rhio, he was not stout, but thin; but when he had become Sultan at Singapore, his body enlarged with his days, and his size became beyond all comparison—he was as broad as he was long: a shapeless mass. His head was small, and sunk into his shoulders from fat, just as if he had no neck; his face was square, his eyes squinted; his nose was moderate, his mouth wide, his breast proportionate; he was pot-bellied in folds, his thighs met, his legs were thin, without contour; his feet were wide, his voice husky, with an awful sound; and it was his custom to fall asleep wherever he sat down. And when he was speaking, strangers were startled at the clashing sounds. His complexion was light yellow—but I need not dilate on this, as many know it, and have seen his appearance; but as far as my experience has gone, I have never seen so unwieldy a man—he could not even carry his own body. And, to my apprehension, in such enormity there can be no pleasure or ease to the body, but nothing but trouble.

I will now return to show how things were settled between the Sultan and Mr. Crawfurd. When they, *i.e.* the Sultan and the Tomungong, had arrived, Mr. Crawfurd received them with respect, seating them. And after sitting awhile, the Sultan said that he was very much straitened for his daily expenses, by Mr. Crawfurd's not giving them their allowances for three months. To this Mr. Crawfurd replied, 'O Sultan and Tomungong, you ought to know well that I can do nothing without orders from the authorities in Bengal; and they desire that all the government of Singapore

should be under the East India Company, and not divided from it. There is a great difficulty in you, the Sultan, having half, and the Company the other half. This is the desire of the above authorities. 'If you will agree to it, they will give you an allowance of 1300 Spanish dollars, and to the Tomungong 700 dollars monthly. The Company will further give you now 30,000, and the Tomungong 15,000 Spanish dollars; and if you wish to leave the place for another country, you will get as a present 30,000 Spanish dollars. The agreement stands and the allowances continue as long as you live, but for that time only, for they are not to be continued to your children.'

When the Sultan and Tomungong heard this, they looked at each other for a moment without saying anything; thereafter the Sultan said, 'Very good, we will think of it, and to-morrow give you an answer.' To this Mr. Crawfurd assented, and followed the Sultan to his carriage, who returned to Campong Glam, the Tomungong going to Tullo Blanga. They thought to have completed the business that night; however, on the morrow an order came from the Sultan to Mr. Crawfurd, accepting the offer of yesterday. Mr. Crawfurd was delighted at this, as he had now got what he wanted, and would thus obtain the approval of his superiors for this service. He then had an agreement drawn out in a book with folds like paper, and told his servant to take his respects to the Sultan, asking him to come to his office on the morrow at ten, to settle the affair. This was carried to the Sultan by the man. On the morrow, therefore, at the time stated, the Sultan and Tomungong arrived at the top of the hill on which the Government house stands, and were received by Mr. Crawfurd with due respect. He then took them into the house and seated them. He asked the Sultan if he

had fully made up his mind to accept the terms of the Bengal authorities. The Sultan assented. The Tomungong was then asked the same question, when he also assented. Mr. Crawfurd then drew out two rolls of parchment from his desk, handing one to the Sultan and one to the Tomungong, when the Sultan asked to have them translated into Malay, as follows:—

'Bahwa ini surat pada meniatikan; maka adala kita Sultan Hussain Shah, bin Sultan Mahomed Shah, Sultan Johor dan Pahang eia-itu Sultan de negri Singapura mengaku dedalam surat ini bahwa sisungoh-nia maka adala dingan suka-suka hati kita tela meniarahkan negri Singapura ini serta dingan parenta-nia sakali kapada Kumpani Ingris ada-nia. Sahadan adala pula pejanjian Kumpani kapada Sultan maka jekalau kera-nia Sultan handa berpinda deri Singapura ini ka negri lain melein-kan Kumpani bri hadia tiga pulo ribu ringit dan kapada Tomungong lima blas ribu ringit. Dan lagi ada per-janjian Kumpani Ingris membri belanjer kapada kita pada sa bulan siribu tiga ratus ringit besar dan kapada Tomungong tuju ratus ringit ada-nia. Bermula ada pembeiaran Kumpani Ingris iang tersibut pada sa bulan-bulan itu saleggi ada siat Sultan sahaja; maka sepen-ingal Sultan anak chucha Sultan tiadala buleh mendapat wang iang tersibut itu ada-nia. Dan leggi Kumpani membri hadia kapada Sultan tiga pulo ribu ringit.'

Which is rendered as follows:—

'This writing witnesseth that we, Sultan Hussain Shah, son of Sultan Mahomed Shah, King of Johore and Pahang, to wit, who is now in Singapore, acknowledge by the writing aforesaid that we truly and of our own pleasure make over the country of Singapore and its government entirely to the English Company. More-

over, the Company bind themselves to us, the Sultan, that should we desire to leave Singapore for another country, that the Company shall give us thirty thousand Spanish dollars, and to the Tomungong fifteen thousand Spanish dollars. Further, the Company bind themselves to us to give us a monthly allowance of thirteen hundred Spanish dollars, and to the Tomungong seven hundred Spanish dollars. Moreover, the payments of the English Company, as above stated, shall be made monthly, and shall be for the lifetime of us the Sultan only, and after us our offspring will not receive the same. The Company will further give to us, by way of present, thirty thousand Spanish dollars.'

After this agreement had been read, Mr. Crawfurd explained it in Malay, and the Sultan assented and sealed it, the Tomungong doing likewise. When the treaty had thus been signed, twelve guns were fired from the top of the hill—a sign of pleasure. So the Sultan and Tomungong returned, and as the Sultan was going, he said to Mr. Crawfurd, 'When will we get the money?' To which he replied, that he could send for it at once. So they returned to their homes. Then on the morrow a servant of the Sultan, named Inchi Abu Putih, came to get the amount; and after it had been counted up, and the debts of the Sultan to Mr. Raffles taken into consideration, there remained to be given to the Sultan 20,000 dollars. This settled, the whole of the balance was made over to Inchi Abu. The money arrived at the Sultan's, and then only did he begin to reflect, and see that he had cause for repentance, in his having made over the settlement of Singapore. Henceforth the monthly allowance of the Sultan was 1300 Spanish dollars, and of the Tomungong 700 Spanish dollars. This continued the same till the death of Sultan Hussain Shah in

Malacca. Praise be to God that I have been able to say so!

After this affair was settled Mr. Crawfurd ordered the gong to be beaten round the town of Singapore and Campong Glam, proclaiming to the inhabitants that the laws and government of the place had been given over to the English Company, and that the Sultan and Tomungong no longer held sway, and that without the concurrence of the police neither could move in any matter. And when the Sultan heard the proclamation by gong, he now understood the real effects, which were as if a person's hands and feet had been tied—as the Malays say, 'Repent before, for afterwards repentance comes too late.'"

In the treaty the word *meniarahkan* is used, the root of which is *srah*, on the meaning of which I have commented. It will be observed that force is given to it here by the addition of the word *sakali*—that is, wholly, entirely, altogether, once and for all time to come. But this would still not imply the right of the English to give Singapore over to other nations, and I think this is the light in which the treaty is looked upon by the Malay chiefs themselves.

The detail of the transactions gives a good idea of kindred dealings, such as Mundy's taking over Labuan; and while, on the whole, the end has been beneficial to all parties, it does not entirely appear to be to the satisfaction of our autobiographer, whose party would have much greater power and advancement in a Mahomedan kingdom. This is but natural, and we cannot blame him for his political feelings. The regeneration of his race seems to have been his leading passion. He had the bias of a reformer, but not the energy.

XXIII.

FLIGHT OF THE HAREM.

"About a month after this, at day-break, there came twenty-seven women, who were both young and beautiful, to the police-office, to lay their complaints. One opened the clothes on her back to show the marks of the rattan cane; others had marks of having been hung up; others of burnings with pitch; others complained of being punished by fasting and nakedness. Some further said that they had been burnt with pitch in *such a part.* Others complained that several of their friends had been ordered to be killed, from jealousy, the prince wanting to make concubines of them. These and such others were the complaints of the young girls at the police-office. Mr. Crawfurd ordered them to go where they liked, as now no one could touch them or interfere with them. So each went on their way: some went with the policemen, some to the Klings, others to the Chinese, and a few of them to the houses of the Europeans, just wherever they could get food and clothing.

Then, at two in the afternoon, the Sultan made his appearance at the police-office to see Mr. Crawfurd; and when he arrived, Mr. Crawfurd received him and took him to a seat. The Sultan now asked why he had let loose all his female slaves; adding, 'For they have all run away from my house. They were mine, for I had an

agreement with Mr. Raffles that the Company should have no authority over them.' To this Mr. Crawfurd replied, that he knew nothing of Mr. Raffles' engagements with the Sultan, but that he had an order from the chief authority in Bengal that on English ground there should be no slaves, but free men only; further, should any one buy or sell such, he should be severely punished. Likewise it was not right to punish mankind by burning them with fire, or by beating them without mercy. Again, he added, 'I have learnt that men have been murdered in your court; but if I find the murderers, I will have them killed also.' To this the Sultan replied, that it was not fair to let his slaves go. To this Mr. Crawfurd replied, that if he was dissatisfied, the Sultan could write to the authorities in Bengal, or he could sail himself to Bengal to make inquiries. It was not his pleasure, but the Company's. When the Sultan heard this he was silent, and going to his carriage, he returned without even saying good-bye.

About a month after this an order came from Bengal to have all the streets put right, by having those straightened which were crooked. So all were perfected till they came to Campong Glam, but to straighten one of the streets here would take it into the heart of the Sultan's court. So Mr. Crawfurd let the Sultan know that the Company wished the street to be carried so. But when the Sultan heard of it he was dreadfully enraged, and would not let it be done. And when Mr. Crawfurd saw this, he opened up the wall by force. So the convicts set to to knock down the wall. Thus the court was then made as we see it; half on this side of the street, half on the other. And when the Sultan perceived that force was used, he restrained himself and said nothing, seeing that he no longer had any power in Singapore. As the Malay proverb says,

'Man is afraid of a tiger because of its teeth; so if it be toothless, why should one be afraid of it?' So Europeans now thought lightly of the Sultan.

At that time Mr. Crawfurd put the streets in order, widening and levelling them; and at the corner of each he had a board put up with the name printed in English. At this time convicts were first imported to Singapore. These were employed to finish what had been commenced by former Governors; they also cleared the hills of scrub. The roads, as we see them at present, were all laid out by Mr. Crawfurd; but since then they have been widened. He also appropriated to himself a deal of land near the Bazaar, on which are twenties of shops, and which to this time are let for him by his agent.

On looking at Mr. Crawfurd's disposition, he was impatient, and of a quick temper; but in what he was engaged he did slowly and not immediately. Further, it could be perceived that he was a man of good parts, clever and profound. Yet it was equally true that he was much bent down by a love for the goods of this world. His hand was not an open one, though he had no small opinion of himself. Further, his impatience prevented him from listening to long complaints, and he did not care about investigating the circumstances of the case. As sure as there was a plaint, he would cut it short in the middle. On this account I have heard that most people murmured and were dissatisfied, feeling that they could not accept his decision with good-will, but by force only."

Here is a case of Solomon having got into the hands of the Philistines, the leader of the Philistines being John Crawfurd, Esq., F.R.S. At the same time, it is to be perceived that the flight and distribution of the concubines was not calculated to improve the morals of the settlement, European, Chinese, and Kling.

The East India Company being originally founded by Radicals, principally composed of London shopkeepers, we here see the effects in the desecration of the monarchical precincts. The concubines were dispersed amongst the people, and the wall also of the temple is broken down. There was always a floating idea amongst the natives that the Company's government would not stand long. We have seen it out.

While knocking down the Sultan's walls, Crawfurd, by way of compensation, seems to have built up a row of shops for himself in the most valuable part of the town, which brought in a large revenue. As a matter of course, a native would surmise that in his position it was beneath him to pay for the land. It is a mistake to think that they are not very critical.

I have read over the character given by Abdulla in the last paragraph to a gentleman who used to meet Mr. Crawfurd at the Anthropologial Society, of which he was president, and he imagines it to be very correct.

The manuscript then proceeds to give a long disquisition on his English pupils, which I have left untranslated. The difficulties in attaining a critical knowledge of the languages seems to have discouraged all who attempted to do so. This Abdulla laments.

XXIV.

CHRISTIAN CHAPEL VERSUS *CHINESE JOSS HOUSE.*

"I WILL now return to my own affairs. I was engaged for three years in teaching Malay to the young English merchants and to new-comers,—but I have not space to tell all their names, they were so numerous; yet I may mention a few of them, such as Messrs. Boustead, Benjamin Butler, Sykes, Read, Paton, Terangtin (?), Ker, White, Magdano (?), Purvis, the two Mestrings (?), Rogers, Martin, Carnie, Davison, Hamsen (?); indeed, these and hundreds of gentlemen that I have taught, but whom I have forgot. Further, there were of English women and their unmarried daughters ten or twelve that I taught in Singapore. But in regard to the gentlemen, they being merchants, all that they required was to be able to speak enough for trading purposes, or to read letters; so they did not study polite literature, nor the more difficult works, nor the idiom of the language. So before they had washed or bathed in the principles of the Malay languages, they lost all as time flowed, till they could not tell how many crooked *alifs* there were.

Such were my circumstances when a letter came to me from Malacca, to wit, from the Rev. Messrs. Humphries, Kyd, and Coolie (?), asking me to come to that place, as there was not a moonshee there who could

teach English and Malay, and as there were Malay writings and books which they wished to study. ' So I answered them that I could not go to them, as I had a great deal of work in hand in Singapore at this time, but if they would wait a little I would come. Two or three months after this, another letter came from these gentlemen, begging of me to come, asking if I had lost my good feelings for them, as I had been taught in the college. Now there was no work in the college, yet I would not come. Afterwards, however, because of my good remembrances of Mr. Milne, I left my business in Singapore and came to them at Malacca. So the gentlemen got out all the Malay books that were piled up in their presses from the time of Mr. Milne, and all the books collected in former times, which they told me to arrange. There were others that had been translated into English by Mr. Kite (?). After this Mr. Humphries desired to study Malay, so I taught him for about a twelvemonth; he could then read a little, but he gave it up to study Chinese. Then Mr. Kite studied Malay a little; whilst Mr. Coolie did not study it at all, but Chinese only. I was then put at the head of the printing department, to attend to all the business there, for none of them understood this. On account of these engagements I could not leave Malacca, notwithstanding I had numbers of letters from the merchants of Singapore, earnestly calling me away. I told Mr. Humphries of this; but he would not let me go, telling me that he could not get such another trustworthy person for the college duties, and that if I went the work must come to a stand. So he offered to make up my Singapore earnings. So I remained translating English into Malay, teaching them Malay, and attending to the printing.

Now regarding the English chapel, *i.e.* the church at Malacca, the founder of it was Mr. Humphries, and

the spot where it is built was originally called Kubun Katik. This was near to my own house, and it was held in my father's time by a Malay called Inchi Tahir, who sold it to Tambi Mahomed Syed, then to Mahomed Syed, then to Sheik Ally, an Arab who was khatib in the Kling Mosque. Then, when Sheik Ally desired to sell the place, I informed Mr. Humphries, letting him know at the same time that a Chinaman had set his heart on it, with the view of adding it to his Joss house. So Mr. Humphries bought it at once for 400 Spanish dollars. The place faced the Chinese Joss house, and for this reason all the Chinese wished to have it. The width of it was about twenty fathoms, the length exceeding this.

About two days after the purchase, Mr. Humphries prepared to erect the chapel; and when the Chinese heard this, their captain, with a number of them, came to him to ask for the land, offering to give him a great advance on the purchase-money, even to double. But Mr. Humphries would not agree. Then on the morrow the Chinese came again, offering to change plots in another quarter, adding money to this; but he would not give in. They were much grieved at this, as the ground was exactly opposite their place of worship. This became a great cause of trouble to them, for it was their custom to have music and firing of crackers in any quantity, with paper-burning and great uproar. So that if this became an English church, to a certainty the noises would be interfered with.

Now, it is the custom of the Chinese to place their places of worship (literally idol houses) in the best places, having their frontages towards China, so that if houses are placed in their front, they of necessity act as a screen. The Chinese faith is, that by Mr. Humphries' chapel being in front of their place of worship,

theirs became destroyed. On this account, all those Chinese that were natives of China became persuaded that they could no longer prosper in Malacca. Yet all the country-born Chinese have become rich; so this proves the persuasion to be wrong, and I have heard themselves say so.

So the place was cleared of the trees, and a house erected of the same style as Mr. Milne's college. And when they were about to set up the door, they called together all the principal people of Malacca, who put money under the sill. This done, Mr. Humphries named the house, the Malacca Chapel. After this, all the principal people, as well as the Governor, with the ladies (literally women), came there to worship on the evenings of Mondays. This became an established custom; and on Sundays, at eight in the morning, all the Chinese children that were being taught at the college, together with the Chinese converts (literally who had become English), assembled and remained there till nine, and again from ten to twelve. Then at one they went to the large church which stands in the fort. After this, from three to four, all the country-born Dutch, male and female, went to the chapel; also on the Monday nights, at seven, all the English and Dutch came to it. Also, when repairs were being made to the large church, all went to the chapel instead. Now, until this chapel had been built, no European's carriage had ever entered this quarter of the town: now there were twenties choking the street. This stopped the way, which annoyed the Chinese, as they were offended because (at the time of chapel prayers) they were not allowed to make the usual noises in their Joss house opposite, as policemen were stationed to prevent people going that way, nor to speak loud, whether during the day or the night.

After a while Mr. Humphries returned to Europe,

leaving Messrs. Kite and Coolie. The Malay work and printing in the college now lessened, as they gave their attention to the Chinese language only. Otherwise they taught the Chinese children English and Chinese. So I asked leave to return to the Straits, and true enough they let me go, but not willingly, for they wished me to remain for good in the College; but I told them that if they would write to me, should I be much required, that I would return. So I set sail and returned to Singapore; and when I arrived, the merchants again came to me to learn Malay. So I set to work. I now learned that Mr. Crawfurd had returned to Europe, and that Mr. Prince (?) held his place; but he also soon left, and was replaced by Mr. Murchison. Again there came Mr. Presgrave, who had a limping gait; after him came Mr. Bonham, who became chief of the three settlements. Mr. Wingrove then became head of the police; and after Mr. Wingrove had sailed, he was succeeded by Mr. Church. After him came Captain Ferrier. He again was succeeded by Major Low, who now holds office as police magistrate. The latter came from Pulo Penang, the former taking his place as magistrate at Sabrang Prye (Province Wellesley). After this, by the grace of God, Singapore was highly prosperous, multitudes coming and going without stoppage. The streets and lanes had all been made and kept in repair; the forests had been cleared by the Company's slaves (meaning here convicts)."

Abdulla gives the names of several of the pioneer merchants of Singapore, men highly esteemed for their probity and enterprise, and one or two of whom have since become well known in the extensive trade of England and China.

His allusion to the letter *alif* indicates, however, how little Abdulla thought of their Malay acquirements, *alif* being the only straight letter in the Malay alphabet.

That the new missionaries should be so entirely dependent on him, shows at what a low ebb education had been in the renowned city of Malacca. The intrusion of the missionaries as regards the Chinese temple appears to me to have been not only injudicious, but, from Abdulla's account, also to have been unnecessary. They, no doubt, would call it chivalrous to thus beard the lion in this den, but there was no credit in this apparent magnanimity, as they had the police and authorities at their back to cow the Chinese, and beat them down. The loud noise of the Chinese in their worship was a matter of complaint, and it is curious to note that the constant complaint of Christian ministers against their own people, was that they were too silent. It is a fact that all the time I was in India I never heard a psalm sung. When there was a barrel-organ, it would do duty; and where not, the clerk and people sat silent. I speak of a quarter of a century ago; I am not aware what is the case now.

I am reminded of the case of Missionary Sumner at Macao. He met his fellow-Christians carrying the host; but, contrary to the custom of his fellow-Christians, though belonging to the opposite sect, he would neither turn into a cross street nor take off his hat, so he was knocked down and carried off to jail, where he was kept starving by way of penance. Captain, now Admiral, Keppel then came to his rescue, shooting the jailor dead in the *mêlée*. Keppel did quite right, even though the accident occurred; but a little *Christian* forbearance on the part of Sumner would have been more laudable.

Thus, though my fellow Protestants in the far East would not sing psalms, they were always a church militant in the true sense of the term.

XXV.

STEAM VESSELS FIRST HEARD OF.

"About this time there came a merchant called Maxwell. He first stopped at the police-office, and I taught him Malay, and he was for some time engaged so. It was he who built the present court-house, which the Company rented of him. After this Mr. Church bought it. Europeans now began to build brick houses in the plain towards Campong Glam, which had been under brushwood, but now was cleared. The merchants at this time had great profits, because tortoiseshell had risen in value in Europe; the price in Singapore was 1200 dollars a pikal and more. The traders were thus great gainers. The country-born Chinese of Malacca had also grown rich. In this year the English first began to buy gambier and antimony (batu Sarawak) and dragon's blood. All these were sent to Europe, and in exchange there came different kinds of goods, such as flowered satins, glass utensils, plates and cups of divers forms, of new styles never before seen. In this year also we first heard of steam vessels about to come out to Singapore. We had heard a rumour about such things previously, but to most of the people it was like the news given in history—the news had the appearance of nothingness. On this account I did not believe it, nor did any one else receive it in his understanding. As the Malays say, to

hear it is not to receive it. But now a picture of a steamship came to Singapore, and there were also in the place men of trust who had sailed in them, and they told me. On this account I now believed true enough, but it was the belief of mind only—I had not seen them, nor could I conceive their actual appearance. It is also true that I dilated to my neighbours on the skill and ingenuity of the Europeans in all things, that I had seen or heard from Englishmen of standing; but when I came to the steamship, they fell in a rage at me, and wrangled with me so as to knock me over. Others accused me of always foisting up the English and telling lies. Others found fault with me for speaking so much about it. If I had ventured to speak to them of gas burning without a wick or oil in thousands and thousands of houses in England, and that waggons ran by steam at a rate of twenties of miles to the hour, and that there was a road under the earth nine hundred feet long in London, over which a river flowed with twenties of ships sailing thereon, and under which horse-carriages and men went and came; also that a person had made a *patong* (?) so clever at playing, that a thousand people could not withstand it; again, that there is a species of bird which can carry up people into the air, beside many other miracles which I have heard of; but were I even to mention them to the Malays, they would certainly shut their ears and turn away their faces, calling me a big bear. But let this subject alone—there are those who will not believe that there are lions in the world, and so they wrangle at what I tell them. But when the lions are brought from other countries, they will be forced to admit that I am right and that they are wrong.

Again, I have had to bear a great deal of opposition from these people regarding things that I have learnt from scientific men, who have competent knowledge of

the geography of the world, which they say is truly round, and which I have repeated to them; and I have especially been answered, that such a fact could not be believed, for such a thing was never heard of before, nor have our ancestors informed us of it. I showed them numbers of signs and proofs that the world was round, yet they would not believe me. Each and every one talked about it as they liked, some saying it was four-cornered, others seven. To this I replied, 'Have not the white men's ships gone round the world numbers of times?' But this also they would not believe; adding, 'How could they do this; for is not the hill of Kaf in the way, and various kinds of mountains and dark seas?' Then, again, about the obscuring of the sun and the moon I had constant arguments, for they spoke as they liked. Some said the eclipse of the moon was owing to a snake eating it; others, it was because of the great sins of mankind—because of these God darkened the world to make us reflect. Others, again, said that the moon was sick. The origination of this idea was because the word *ruh* (spirit) means, in the language of Hindostan, 'snake.' Thus this foolish notion has attached itself to the Malays, who say (at an eclipse) the moon is eaten up by the *ruh*, which they translate into *ular* or snake. Others say that the moon has fallen into a sea of mud, and other such absurdities. Thus I have noticed in Malay countries, during eclipses, some make great noises, beating gongs and firing guns in order to let the snake hear, and to frighten it from the moon. I have also seen men and women screeching to the snake to let go the moon. I have further observed in the interior of Malacca people striking each other's nails; and when I asked the meaning of this, they told me it was a sound that would reach the sky. This made me laugh beyond endurance at their great absurdities. I tried to explain to them that the

cause of an eclipse of the sun was in the moon being in a direct line between the earth and the sun, thus the sun became overshadowed; so also an eclipse of the moon was owing to the earth itself being between it and the sun, thus the earth overshadowed it. The eclipse might thus be part or full. But my explanations were like a pot of fresh water poured into the sea, it also became salt, and my instruction had no result.

Moreover, the Chinese have a notion that there is a dog in the sky, which is chained; but when it gets loose, it sets off to eat the moon. Again, half of the Siamese say that the sun is being married to the moon, but the latter dislikes the junction, and so runs away, and the sun after her, and as he snatches her it becomes dark. The Hindoos say a snake swallows it. Each race thus has its notion and peculiar absurdity."

Abdulla was no doubt well coached up in the wonders of Europe, though he never was there. It is amusing to read his account of them, as he had learned from hearsay. After all, seeing is believing. Under the circumstances, it must have indeed been a very difficult puzzle to select what to believe and what not to believe. To tell a native that the English candles burnt without wicks would indeed be a greater wonder to them than the bird which carried people up into the air. In the latter, I think he alludes to the flying machine—a scheme of an enthusiastic aeronaut, which at that time had woodcuts representing it in all the papers. This machine had somewhat the form of a bird with spread out wings worked by steam! But immense progress has taken place since the days of Abdulla. Steam by sea and rail, with the electric telegraph, while favouring

intercourse, has dispelled much ignorance. What he means by the *patong* I cannot make out—there may be some miscopying in the manuscript.

The sphericity of the world was always a favourite topic with Abdulla—the more so as he had apprehended the theory, a thing not concurred in by his countrymen. His account of the native fears of, and then clamours at, eclipses is correct, as I have myself witnessed. He appears to have been well instructed in this subject by the missionaries, whose principle had been to break down native superstition by illustrating the true operations of nature. The spiritists of Europe and America would now seem to require the same curriculum, or is there a reaction against modern materialism? Ignorance, however, will always be a match for science, there being so many vested interests in it, whether religious or philosophical.

XXVI.

THE DOCTRINE OF FREE WILL.

"There now came a letter from Mr. Coolie from Malacca, telling me that Mr. Kite had sailed for Europe, and that he himself had married in the place, and Mr. Hughes was expected to come, so that I was wanted immediately, as there was a great deal of work at the college. I wrote, in reply, that I was very much engaged at Singapore, but when Mr. Hughes had come I would be with them. At Malacca in this year great numbers of children of all races died. This was from small-pox. Thousands died of this disease. It is true that the Government ordered them to be inoculated, which many availed themselves of, but because of its not being properly done, the disease on many fell the heavier—all dying. Numbers would not be inoculated, as it had never been done by their ancestors, and they asked, Did not the sickness make the sickness? Of these also numbers died. Others, again, did not believe in inoculation, saying, that if the children had arrived at their time they would die whether or not. Thus mankind are divided by their various opinions, one saying this way, the other the other way. But to my notion it is not right for mankind to forsake the doctrine of free will, for God made free will incumbent on His people to hold it. Also, each thing is made by God, as of one for

another. God made the sickness. But he also made an antidote; so when one fell sick it became incumbent on that one to use his free will—that is, to seek medicine, or some other mode of obtaining a cure. Now, supposing one had fallen sick, and he does nothing because he says God had brought the sickness, so He can cure him; does not this person forsake his free will, and thus surely destroy himself and mankind by his conduct and views? At that time every house in Malaoca was wailing because of its children or grandchildren.

After a while news came to Singapore that Mr. Coolie was very sick at Malacca, and six days after this further news arrived that he had sailed for Singapore for change of air, but that he had died between Moar Hill and Batu Pahat: again, that the vessel had been becalmed for three or four days, so that they had to throw his body overboard."

This translation enunciates doctrines that are at least popularly supposed to be contrary to one of the main features of Mahomedanism, viz. the belief in fate, or predestination, but it will be seen that there are differences of opinion on this point amongst Mahomedans, as well as amongst other creeds. I can fancy Abdulla having many a tough argument with Miss ——, the Calvinistic missionary lady in the far East, on this subject, when he brought out views on free will so much opposed to hers, as well as to those of the majority of his own creed. This lady remained several years instructing Malay girls in the language, literature, and accomplishments of the Scotch, till her ducklings took to the water, got beyond her control, and misbehaved themselves. They had been educated above their station, and so despised their countrymen.

The doctrine of fate, as opposed to free will, takes various forms, according to the position and bias of the person. If a Malay is to be hung, he will bear the punishment with equanimity, because it was his fate. If a Calvinist sees a man devoured, he will remark, that it was to be, God had fore-ordained it; if a man is shot, a Lutheran will also say that "every bullet has its billet."

Lane* on this subject remarks, that "the belief in fate and destiny exercises a most powerful influence upon the actions and character of the Muslims." "Fate respects the decrees of God in a general sense; destiny, the particular application of those decrees;" "but they are divided as to whether these are absolute and unchangeable, or admitting of alteration." He continues: "Many doctors have argued that destiny only respects the *final state* of a certain portion of men (believers and unbelievers), and that in general man is endowed with free will, which he should exercise according to the laws of God and his own conscience and judgment, praying to God for blessing on his endeavours, or imploring the intercession of the Prophet, or of any of the saints in his favour, and propitiating them by offering alms or sacrifices in their names." "Again, the doctrine of the Koran, and the traditions respecting the decrees of God, or fate and destiny, appears, however, to be that they are altogether absolute and unchangeable, written in the beginning of the Creation on the preserved Tablet in heaven, that God predestined every event and action, *evil as well as good*." Again, "But still it must be held that He hath not predestined the *will*, though he sometimes inclines it to good, and the devil sometimes inclines it to evil." Again, "Evil actions or intentions only increase our misery, if we are unbelievers or irreligious, for the Muslim holds that he is to be admitted into

* *Modern Egyptians.*

heaven only by the *mercy of God* on account of his faith, and to be rewarded in proportion to his good works." Here then we have, amongst Mahomedans, the battle between *faith* and *good works* also.

Lane continues: "A companion asked, 'O Prophet of God, inform me respecting charms, and the medicines which I swallow, and the shields which I make use of for protection, whether they prevent any of the orders of God.' Mahomed answered, 'These also are by the order of God. There is medicine for every pain: thus when the medicine reaches the pain, it is cured by the order of God.'"

Thus the Mahomedans, enclosed within their religion, have an intuitive perception of the true laws of nature, a faculty given to all. Their constitution being apathetic in the enervating climates in which they mostly live, inclines them to resignation. Their poet therefore says—

"Oh, thou who fearest thy fate, be at ease: commit thy offences unto Him who spreads out the earth.
For what is predestined cannot be cancelled; and thou art secure from everything that is not predestined."

A comfortable solace at the eve of battle; how many a soldier takes this to himself, and then presses forward.

XXVII.

THE FRIENDLY LIEUTENANT.

"On this year there came a vessel from Europe to Singapore, at which it remained for four months. Its duty was to traverse the seas near Singapore and sound the channels. The vessel touched at every island for a day or two, marking in the charts all the rocks, banks, and passages, then going every ten or fifteen days to Singapore, taking in provisions and water, and then going out again. One day I met the lieutenant of the vessel, when I was so bold as to ask him as to the business of his ship stopping so long hére, going out and in; and when he heard what I said, he gloomed for a moment, and then inquired if I was a merchant or an Arab, when I told him how I made my living, as well as about my country. He now smiled, and said it was right that I should know the English, for for four months he had been coming and going, and no one asked him about his object. He now explained that the vessel was in the public service, sent out to survey straits, passages, seas, islands, and banks; the depths and sites of the shoals; the shoals themselves and their channels, so that vessels might go through them. He added, 'We do this so that charts may be constructed for the use of ships navigating these waters. The charts are engraved in Europe, and the sheets sold.' I now

began to understand the object of his duty, and I was astonished to see the energy of the white man in examining the seas with their islands, and the sums of money that the work would cost.

From that day the lieutenant was friendly with me, and stopped as he was passing my house daily; and if I was not there, he searched me out elsewhere. I perceived that he was of an amiable disposition, and withal clever, not in any way like the usual class of sailors, rough, wicked, and drunken; but this one was intelligent and learned in regard to astronomy, eclipses, trigonometrical survey, and the heights of hills. The name of this young gentleman was Mr. Smith. He walked alongside of me making inquiries about the state of the country, its origin, also of Malacca, their princes, as to how the island became settled, and such like; he added that he would like well, if his captain would let him go, so that he could remain with me, that he might study Malay, and understand all the above things. Again, on the morrow he brought me a present of a silver watch, saying that it was a token of remembrance, as he was about to sail for good to Europe. And when I heard this I was much touched, because of his going to sail; so I at once opened my box, and taking out my damasked kris which I wore, I gave it to him, saying, 'This is a token from me to you; here are also two Samarang mats, worked with large flowers.' When he got these he did not know what to make of himself, he was so delighted; he then grasped my hands and said, 'If you are truly my friend, let me know their price.' I then replied, that when I first bought the kris it cost me ten dollars, but after this that I had it polished, and put right. When he heard this, he opened his purse and gave me twenty dollars; but I gave the money back again to him, telling him that I did not part with the kris

for money, but for friendship's sake only—'You gave me the watch for me to wear, so I give you the kris to wear also.' So he took the money and was prevailed on for a moment, and then exclaiming, 'Oh, for four months here of your acquaintance, how much would I have not gained!' He now appeared as one in deep grief, for he did not know what to give me. So I said, 'My friend, do not be grieved; if we live we may meet again.' So he was silent for a while, as he cared not to part. He had come to me at eleven and had remained till two. At length he took me by the hand, and said, 'Good-bye,' which in our language means '*salamat tingal.*' So I accompanied him to the vessel, and on the evening he sailed. Of such characters the Malays have a proverb, 'If a ruby falls into a hole its splendour is not lost.' So it is with a good man: his looks may not be good, but his heart is."

In the above narrative it will be noted that the native opinion of our sailors is not very complimentary, yet in this young gentleman, apparently one of Captain Daniel Ross's officers, he found a most amiable acquaintance. This would be in the year 1827, as I see by Ross's charts of the Straits, much of whose work I revised in 1845. Abdulla would now be thirty years of age.

XXVIII.

THE GREAT FIRE.

"I now return to my own affairs, while I was in Singapore, after I had heard of the death of Mr. Coolie. The letters that I received from Malacca increased, as there was no one at the college; so I felt that I must go. But by God's will I was taken with remittent fever of a virulent kind; so much so that I could not even bear the smell of rice, neither could I raise my head. I had had all ready, and was only waiting for a vessel to carry me. I was at that time living in a house in the Merchants' Quarter, and it was about the Chinese New Year, and on the 13th night of the month, when the children were busily engaged in playing with paper horses,—half of the Chinese amusing themselves, and half making great noises with their musical instruments. It was just about half-past seven, when a number of people were seen to be running and crying out, 'Fire! fire!' Being sick, I was in a disturbed sleep, so I lifted my head from the pillow, when I saw out of the window that there was the glare of fire, with the sparks falling thickly. This startled me, as one who had not collected his senses; so I ran to the window, and with the clothes and coat fastened to my body, I bolted down the stairs, leaving all my tools, boxes, clothes, writing-desks, with other choice things which I had brought

from the Chinese junks, with eight baskets of sweet oranges, Mr. Raffles' certificates, a great many books and letters, also hard cash in my box, 150 dollars,—all these I left. Again, I was at that time almost senseless, nor could I recollect all the things; for I was so panic-struck by the fire, which rose up like a hill with dreadful sound, booming like a hurricane. I rushed forward and fell below, not feeling that my sickness still increased. But shortly I was able to run again, for I saw the fire would be soon upon me and my house. It was at this moment that I first thought of my papers, boxes, clothes, and such like; so I ran back to ascend the house, but now an adjacent house was blown up with gunpowder with the noise of thunder. This threw up all the stones, posts, bales of piece goods and roof, the house falling down in all directions. So I ran, drawing long breaths in a terrible state of mind, knowing what ill luck had beset me.

Seeing the fire striding forward,
I felt as the life had gone out of me.
The houses and their contents were consumed
As a chicken carried off by a vulture,
And all the houses are levelled.
By reason of the heat of the fire the eyes cannot be opened;
The roarings of the element resound with a din;
The joints of the limbs become feeble;
Our clothes burn like paper,
Our oranges go off like crackers.
Assisters came quickly,
Removing the goods with rapidity.
The dollars melt like tin,
And run in liquid to the foundations;
Their whereabouts are not to be found,
As the molten leads are mixed with them.

And when I perceived the position I was in, I was appalled and nearly fainting in the middle of the street, my body was so weakened from sickness, and more especially from fright. I then felt the pocket of my coat, where I found a biscuit and a pencil. I ate the

biscuit there and then, for I had had nothing for several days, owing to the power of the fever. So I ran to the middle of the crossing, where I perceived a package of China paper, enclosing ink. So I took the paper, and, carrying it here and there, by God's help the fever and sickness left me, owing to the fright I had got, and this without using any medicine. Then all that I saw, heard, or was made aware of, or what I felt in the clamour of the fire, I wrote on the paper; and I composed a poem from the beginning of the Chinese New Year festivals until they were put an end to by the fire, and from thence till they began to rebuild. This poem is well known to all Singaporeans and Malakites, and which I named 'Singapore Burnings.' And at that time I saw many coveted goods and merchandise in the middle of the streets, which people had thrown out like rubbish. Some people stole, others were stolen from; some broke into houses, and others had their premises broken into; some beat, and others were beaten; some cried, others laughed. If it were opium, it was in the gutters of the street; if it were spirits, it was trickling down to the sea; so that the men of the sea got drunk. All this I have related in my poem.

Moreover, I had true pleasure in composing the poem to the last leaf, and that too was finished by the grace of God in His providence over His slaves. And I now offer up thousands of thanks to Him for guarding my life in the great disaster. I now engaged my mind in composing the poem, with the view that the subject might be known to future generations; the circumstances connected with which I have felt. How many are the bitternesses and sweetnesses of the world; how many storms and waves on the sea of life are there not in this world; how many wonders were seen in Singapore while I was stopping there, in my desire to see the

completion of the houses that had been burnt, that I might have them in my poem.

Two months after this I returned to Malacca. This was owing to my getting twenties of letters from my wife; she having been put to the greatest anxiety by people telling her that I was so sick when the fire took place, that I could not get away from it—so they remained in deep grief. I had been only a month in Malacca when the English came and took it over again from the Dutch. This was in the year of the Messiah 1823. Bencoolen was given up instead of it. It was now only that I saw all the races in Malacca truly joyful, they having by this time fully tasted the bitters of the Dutch government. When the Dutch took over the country (in 1818) the people then were delighted; but now, having felt the crushing tread of the Hollanders, they began to like the government of the English."

The great fire of Singapore will be long remembered; but I think Abdulla has mistaken the date. Fires have been numerous, and the only one that I saw nearly equalling this was that of Campong Glam, in 1847, or thereabouts, when the whole native town was destroyed. Abdulla's poetry on the occasion has been found to be untranslatable into English metre. On this occasion he has not had a lady to inspire his muse. His *sang-froid* in the confusion, and under his fever, is amusing. By his own account he was a true *Times* reporter. That he should have been so long sick without his wife coming to see him from a distance of only 120 miles is a curious illustration of native habits. Caste prejudices, and their power, must be enormous, more than Europeans can estimate, for they were not unaffectionate, as will hereafter be shown.

XXIX.

ENGLISH JUSTICE.

"To proceed. I had remained some time in Malacca and then returned to Singapore, and engaged in my usual avocations. I then learned that Mr. Prince had returned to Europe, and that Mr. Murchison had taken his place.

At this time they commenced to repair all the bridges in Singapore,—now using bricks instead of beams and planks. And now also lawsuits and criminal proceedings were removed to the court of the three settlements, *i.e.*, Singapore, Malacca, and Penang. People also first came to hear of grand and petty juries, consisting of twenty-four and twelve members respectively; the former sitting on the right hand, and the other on the left of the judge, hearing the plaints and evidence. These latter were written down by the judge, and then at completion were read over in public to the jury. Then in regard to greater cases, such as sentence of death or transportation to Bombay, or other foreign places, these, and such like, were taken up by the grand jury; and they alone considered and settled as to the propriety of hanging or transporting. But if the petty jury should be divided, it was incumbent on the judge to detain them till they had all agreed—and not till then would the judge decree punishment. Further, it was a regula-

tion that all the jurymen be of good credit, shrewd and experienced in the ways of mankind. They also had to swear, in the presence of the judge, to act faithfully; then only would the judge allow their proceeding. But in regard to smaller affairs, such as debts and debtors, disturbances, and so forth, the plaints were read to the petty jury, and the same method of procedure was followed, the judge asking them if they had agreed; but if disagreed, then he ordered them to find a verdict, and not till then would he decree judgment on the defaulters.

The name of the judge was Tuan Malcolm (Sir Benjamin Malcolm), and that of his vizier (registrar), Tuan Kerr, Esquire (Mr. Kerr). And at that time I first saw a man hung; for before the judge came, where crimes of a nature deserving death were committed, the perpetrators were sent to other countries, where they were put to death. But to my idea this was not right, for this was not seen by the population amongst whom the crime was committed, and thus evil doers were not restrained by fear, for they doubted if they would be hung for their deeds; they would forget in time. When people were hung, either at Malacca or Singapore, thousands went to see them; when some cried from fright, others shook to their very bones at the sight; many also took caution to themselves, not forgetting it for their lifetime. This was an example of the wicked getting their deserts. Now, I have perceived since people have been hung several times in Malacca and Singapore, amoks, murders, and piracies have lessened,—just in the same manner as when you see heavy squalls, thunder and lightning, that these being in truth dangerous and frightful, but they clear the atmosphere, carrying off all bad vapours, from which proceed sicknesses: thus come good health and tranquillity to mankind."

The Mr. Murchison mentioned was brother of Sir Roderick, well-known in scientific circles.

Abdulla's description of English law proceedings is correct in principle, though not in detail; he apparently had not been able to arrive at the precise functions of grand and petty juries, so he has assumed what the names would naturally suggest. He seems, however, to have thoroughly appreciated the beneficent institution in contradistinction to the arbitrary and uncontrolled proceedings of native autocrats and petty tyrants, whose despotism he alternately feared, hated, and despised, and the condition of whose subjects he lamented.

His concluding remarks are excellent, and his philosophy admirable. The population of the tropics are akin to their climate,—generally calm, listless, and dreamy,—but these amoks intermittently, like Sumatra squalls, burst forth and bear down all before them. Yet, like the squall, the frenzied amoker has but a short career, for he is shot down like a mad dog, and, the ill vapours of the social atmosphere having been purged, tranquillity reigns again.

XXX.

ABDULLA'S ESTIMATE OF THE NEW MISSIONARIES.

"Now, I had been about nine months in Singapore, when there came a letter from Mr. Hughes in Malacca, calling me there, for he wanted to learn Malay. At first I got his letter and replied that I was very much engaged at this time, but, by the grace of God, that in one or two months I might get away; but in other ten days there came another letter urgently asking my return, for there was neither a Malay nor a country-born person who could speak English, nor who could explain himself. For this reason I returned to Malacca, and took duty at the college. Mr. Hughes was a new comer, and his custom was to consult me in everything, whether it related to himself or to the college; for I knew all the old people before his time, this is why he left all to me.

Now I soon perceived that Mr. Hughes had not the tone of a clergyman; that is, in his walk, appearance, and non-culture, he had none of the polish of Mr. Milne or Dr. Morrison; but he had an excellent disposition,—he had good sense and a kind expression. When he spoke he was always smiling. He was liberal and enlightened; but he had a poor memory. He wore spectacles, his education and qualifications were not equal to the missionaries that had gone before him; neither was he diligent in work, but good at being

respectful; so, though it is true he learnt Malay, both in writing and speaking, yet he never acquired the tone, so that his meaning could not even be guessed. Also it is true that he could read letters, as well as history, but just as Malays do. If you asked him the meaning, he did not know. This was because of his very poor memory —what he learnt to-day he forgot on the morrow.

I was thus close with him in his studies for eighteen months. I also learnt English from him daily, as I thought to be able to translate for myself. For if I had been competent to do this, it would have been of great service to me, for there are many things for which the Malays knew no word. On this account many Malays study Arabic grammar, and when they find it difficult, they give it up; for it is extremely complex, so much so, that of 1000 Malay students, only one or two master it, and that with difficulty, for the Arabic language is a very comprehensive one,—not that the glossary in itself is difficult, but the ramifications of its etymology. So, to my idea, if there were a grammar of the Malay language, would it not be well to teach it to the children in the Malay schools.

Now, as to what I would wish about a Malay grammar, it is not such as has exemplification in the Dutch translation of St. Matthew into Malay, which is hundreds of years old, and which Mr. Rabonin (?) copied. In this translation the English, Latin, and other idioms are used in Malay in a most perplexing manner, which is most obnoxious to the genius of the language; it is just like one digging thorns, which is most treacherous and vicious, and so forth. I perceived in the old Dutch translation of the Gospel, that in each place they put the times that had gone, because they appeared to think that they were the same; but they did not know how many kinds of words are not understood. I also perceived

in their translation of the Gospel of St. John made by English gentlemen, who call themselves competent in the Malay language, the following words: Ka-shurka-an, Kaboangan, and Kamo; but these gentlemen only dress up the Malay language with the English idiom in an ignorant manner. These words I would not dare to use in Malay composition, as they would be laughed at and made a fool of by our people. Further, these are a sign by which people test your competency, for the words have no status or position in our language. Now, if they think they can use Ka-shurka-an, why not also Ka-naraka-an, or Ka-bumi-an, or Ka-langit-an, or Ka-ajar-atan?

Then as to the Malay grammar that I intended to compose. I intended to have its construction out of the language itself, having the words in proper order and by acknowledged rule; the idiom, also, not indiscriminately arranged by everybody's supposed skill,—one saying this is right, the other saying the contrary, and yet both wrong, each and every one being their own judges of themselves and their qualifications, like a country without a government, each and every one calling themselves the king. My difficulty was to get the reading and writing in settled order, as I had no rule to guide me by way of authority. The luckless and ignorant that will not learn their own language, see other people doing so and so, and they just follow them without knowing the reason—the right or the wrong, or the circumstances of its being wrong. One pressing over the other, as if they thought it easy, through a special gift of the Almighty, to rise as judges upon the subject, and thus to teach ignorant slaves of God. Moreover, they madly essay to fix and arrange the Malay language, and to write it with propriety, for an example to future generations. Great may be their recompense!

Now, you, O reader! must not find fault with my advice or idea, for the Malay grammar would be of great use; nor must you think that with it alone you could perfect yourself in composition. True enough the rules could be applied, and many words would follow the rules; but in a hundred words seventy might only come under the rules, and thus thirty be beyond them. Now, as regards these latter, were we to force compliance to set rules, we would, for instance, have to write dagang-a-an—that is, in the suffix, like ka-ada-an and ka-tida-an. Now, the Europeans ask if you can say ka-ada-an: why not also say kaya-an, ka-buka-an, ka-perkera-an, ka-jalan-an, and so forth? For are not there rules to this effect, so why should they not apply to the other words also? To this I answer, put suffixes to your own language and try them in all cases (as, if mission is correct, then why should not kiss be written kission?) So, as this is the case, you must understand that the use of grammar is only to lighten the labour of study in most languages; and in order to grasp the subject, it is necessary to search out the exceptions, and from the grammar find how to use them. Even after this, foreigners could not compose rhymes in Malay. On this account it is very stupid of the Europeans to question their native teachers (mūnshis), telling them that this is right and the other wrong, because the grammar says so; for know, O reader! that each race is the judge of its own language, and don't think, from what I have said, that the Malay language is a very easy one.

I relate all this because day and night the subject has been one of earnest consideration, and if my life be spared, I shall use all means under God's providence to lay the foundations of the work; but if I be unable to prosecute the same, it is because I see the condition of

my countrymen, that none care for, or interest themselves in, the subject: they are like people in a sound sleep, oblivious as to their state. Then, if it be the will of God to give me life, and I have the opportunity, by the kindness of some one helping me, a slave of the Almighty, to initiate the undertaking, it is my great hope that the Malay language may no longer remain in a state of muddle and doubtfulness.

I now return to Mr. Hughes' studies. In two years' time he could understand a little; but the understanding, I felt, was of little service for any of the objects he had in view, it was merely nominal—enough if any one asked him if he knew how to speak and to read, when of course he could answer that he could. Truly at this era people look for the credit only of being called clever. While this was going on the Reverend Mr. Ebbison (?) came to Malacca, with his wife and a little son named Edwin; and when he arrived, Mr. Hughes brought him to me, and let him know of my position and circumstances, and how I had originally got my education in the college. A few days after this Mr. Ebbison called me to him, asking me to teach him Malay, as he wished to take charge of the college, and required to be clever at Malay, as he desired to teach people, and translate works from the English. To this I replied, that I would be delighted if he took charge of the college, so that it might be well attended, as it was in the time of Mr. Milne and other men now gone; but as regards cleverness or stupidity, that would not come of me but of himself. If he wished to be clever, he must set to work with vigour, for the most of people went so far as to read a little and to speak a little to their grooms, their waiters, and their cooks; this satisfied them, because they thought they had become clever. When he heard this he laughed outright, and admitted the

truth of what I said, telling me at the same time that in England there were many such like. He then told me to come on the morrow to teach him. So I said, 'Very well.' So on the morrow I began with him, and continued with him for a month, and when Mr. Hughes stopped learning Malay, I entered closely with Mr. Ebbison. I continued with him for six months after this, when he could do a little, but in a meaningless manner. I now perceived that he had a heavy intellect, no application, and was heartless; he then asked me to teach his son Edwin, for he being young could pick up the language faster. I assented to this; so I taught him, and in a few days he was able to read a little. He was very much clearer in the head than his father. But their study was like the study of the merchants, they only wished to understand, not to gain thorough competence in the ideology of the Malay language; so when he could read a little of history he stopped. For to their idea they were clever enough in Malay, not reflecting that in one hundred parts they had not acquired the half, the objects being hidden to them, as they had not tried to translate or to put other languages into Malay, or to compose any scientific essay in it. Of course there were thousands of expressions that they had not even heard of, so how could they know them?

Now, I have seen many persons who study Malay, after they had been able to read a little, translate into their own language whatever they have mastered, and they think it easy because they thus see it in theirs, and in their own idiom, so they think that they can translate other languages into it; but my advice is that, when a person studies Malay so that he can read writing, he should translate his own language into Malay, giving the exact sense; further, the Malay words which he uses should be in the proper idiom, and this without

the assistance of his native teacher. This would be well, and something like study. Such study would ultimately be of the highest importance, for others would acquiesce. This would be good seed; for, wherever it was planted, there it would grow with flowers of good odour, and with fruit of fine flavour. Now, O reader! if you wish to gain such knowledge without trouble, think not that God will bring about this in the Malay language."

This translation appears to be one of the best that has been written. It shows how keen a perception the natives have of the status of Europeans, and how little they respect ordinary minds or capacities.

Abdulla passes without notice the grammar by Marsden; this is ominous of its real merits, and having lost my copy of it, I unfortunately cannot refer to it. I can well fancy the quantity of self-sufficiency and ignorant tinkering that he would have to bear with. Here, in this translation, we have the whole secret circumstantially let out. I believe that Abdulla is correct in saying that while, out of a hundred words in the Malay language, seventy would conform to rule, thirty would not, but be fixed by established custom as exceptions; the prefixes and suffixes being also used as in our own language—by habit or public concurrence. It is the same with spelling, there are no cast-iron rules, but custom in centuries has decided each in its particular instance, so it would be absurd in foreigners to attempt to give them a new "dressing." How puzzled must foreigners be with our time-honoured words—through, *thru;* though, not *thu*, but *tho;* cough, not *co*, but *kof;* enough, not *enof*, but *enuff;* cow, *kau;* low, not *lau*, but *lo*, etc., etc. Yet to be ignorant of these exceptions is to incur the sure

branding of the writer for presumption and folly. So we see what Abdulla drives at. I do not wonder at his almost frantic remarks. He did his best, and consequently must have our approbation; and also we must emphatically concur in his sentiment, that each race must be a judge of its own language. I understand he died without completing his much talked of grammar.

In this translation we also see more caustic sarcasm applied to his employers.* These went forth with high aspirations, temporal and spiritual, yet in the end are content to be able to speak a little to their grooms, waiters, and cooks, ministers of their indulgence and ease! It is needless to conceal the fact that no one can critically understand Asiatic or any other languages without living with and mixing amongst the people, and I never saw an educated European that would do this, missionary or any one else.

* I mean no reflections on any individual, for I am well aware that no person past his teens can ever learn Malay correctly; at the age of thirty the work must be most laborious, and to be encountered only by the most enthusiastic.

XXXI.

CAPTAIN NEWBOLD.

"After I had done with teaching Mr. Ebbison, I intended to sail to Singapore, as from thence there came calls and presents from my friends in quick succession, from Europeans and country-born Chinese, as there were numbers of new merchants coming there who wished to learn Malay; also, there was a deal of business to be done in writing letters to Malay rajas, and such like. Thus I intended to sail in two days; but one morning there came a Bengalee bringing an English letter to me, which was to this effect: 'Captain Newbold's compliments to Inchi Abdulla, who would be glad of a call at eleven o'clock to-day.' I replied by the messenger, with my respects, and that I would be there. So I went. He was at that time stopping in the house opposite that of Mr. Berchi Westerhout, and next to the college. When he saw me coming he came forward and received me with great civility, bidding me good day, and taking me into his office. He then asked me if I was well. To this I replied that I was quite well, thank you. He then said that he had heard much of my skill in the Malayan language from Europeans and natives, its composition as well as in giving the sense in English, also in Hindostanee and Tamil. To this I replied, that it was not I who was clever, but it might be some one

else; that I was far from clever, I was yet young and unlearned; but as the Malays say, 'If there are no rattans, roots then become of service.' I was the root. Further, do not the Malays say, 'Where is the place that there are no vultures, but the grasshoppers are their own trumpeters, and call themselves vultures.' Hesitating a little, he then asked if my name was not Abdulla, and the name of my father Abdulkader, and was I not in the service of Sir Stamford Raffles? I replied in the affirmative. So he laughed, and explained that he had called me as he had a deal of work in hand; that he had called four or five men, but none of them could undertake what he had in view. And when he had made further inquiries, he said that I was the one pointed out as the only competent person. To which I replied by telling him not to make fun of me, for I knew it was a common habit of people to over-estimate themselves, but they certainly became low enough afterwards. He said, 'That is quite true. I also know of rich people who will not let it be seen, but on the contrary call themselves poor. So it is with the truly learned, who will not admit it, but say they are unlearned.'

So we sat awhile conversing, which gave me an opportunity to observe him, when it was quite apparent that he was a person with something in him, having all the marks of a man of ability. He now took out all the books that he had been collecting, such as Malay histories and poems, with numbers of letters, all ancient; and while showing me them he said to me, 'You will please try and explain them to me as to their true interpretation in English.' To this I replied that I did not understand the deep English, but only superficial. I then asked him if he had a dictionary; on which he immediately went to his desk and brought out two books, one a dictionary and the other a grammar, and

laughingly he told me that he had shown them to the other mūnshis who came to see him, but they only told him that they were the books of Europeans, and of no use to the Malays. 'Now, may I ask you if they are of any use?' To this I replied, 'Of immense use to me, for I have not yet mastered the English language fully.' He said, 'True, that is as I anticipated; yet you have been accustomed to use them.' I then said, 'Try me in a day or two.' He said, 'Very well.'

I then commenced to explain the whole, but I need not give the actual words, as they were chosen here and there—but what I gave he wrote down, and while he wrote he smiled; and what he could not understand I explained *viva voce*, showing the same in the dictionary, and what was not in the dictionary I explained in Hindostanee, and thus he saw that what I told him was as he intended. After he had written all these down, he then said, 'Very good, O Inchi. Come here for two hours daily.' To this I replied, that I was desirous of sailing to Singapore, as much of my work was remaining there for me to do. But he said, 'You cannot sail, as I have a deal of work; and do not be afraid, as I will recompense your loss.' I then told him to allow me to finish my work there, and in two or three months I would return. He then asked me if I truly wished to sail. To this I said that I would think for a night, and then give him an answer. To this he assented. So I bade him good-bye and returned home.

After I had left Captain Newbold, I went to Mr. Hughes and Mr. Ebbison, to tell them that I intended to sail; so in the evening Mr. Hughes came in his carriage to my house, and after sitting awhile, he asked me what was the use of my going to Singapore; 'Is it not well that Captain Newbold asks you to remain here? for he says he likes you. Further, he has a great deal of work, at

least for three years; so he had come himself, begging of us to dissuade you from sailing.' He added, that there was also some work for me at the college, which others could not do. Thus he begged of me to remain; and adding, 'As for money, he would give it me.' So I assented to remain.

So I went to Captain Newbold's daily, to assist in his various writings; for, as is better known to the gentlemen who read this story, he intended to publish a work in English on these countries, regarding the customs, genealogies, origin, weapons, histories, poems, pantuns of the Malays, and such like, even to the kris. I first wrote them all down in Malay, and then explained the same in English to him.

He was a gentleman of graceful manners to all, and of excellent sense, thus drawing the affection of all men. I was like his brother. One day he induced me to go to the Chinese temple, to see and inquire into the nature of their images, the history of them, and their customs; all of which I wrote down. He then inquired into the circumstances of the Triad Society (Tan Tae Hoey), their customs and origin; all these I let him know. He then inquired if any one in the country understood about eclipses of the sun and moon, and the reckoning of their times. To this I replied yes. So he asked me to call a person to him, as he would like to make personal inquiries. So with much difficulty I got one to come, by name Mama Jamal Mahomed, bin Noor Mahomed, all of whose statements I explained in English. Such was the work between me and him, without separation; and wherever he went he took me with him. And I observed that he was always engaged in studying the intricacies of science or the affairs of the country. It is true he was in the East India Company's service; yet his attention was engaged independently on the above.

After this, on a certain day, he said to me, 'Come, let us go for amusement to-morrow to have a ride to Alor Gaja. We will then go to Gunong Pànchor, along with Mr. Berchi Westerhout, to see the Jakuns' (primitive inhabitants); 'for there are many there.' So I assented, as I wished also to see them. So in the morning next day we got on horseback, with presents for the Jakuns, consisting of Java tobacco and puppets; for these were what they were fond of—they would not take gold if they could get these. We arrived at Alor Gaja about four in the afternoon, so we remained there; and on the morrow we started, yet in company with Mr. Westerhout, with numbers of Malays as an escort, till we arrived at the foot of Gunong Panchor. Here we left the escort and the luggage, we ourselves climbing the mountain, when after some time we got to their place. We had also brought with us a Jakun, who was acquainted with the Malays, as an interpreter.

When we had arrived, we sat around an open shed to rest ourselves, while the young Jakun went into the forest, being ordered by Mr. Westerhout to call his fellows. He carried with him a bamboo which had holes in it, which he sounded, on which at once six Jakuns came out, with some old women and children. When I saw them, I was greatly astonished to see their condition. I praised God, who in His greatness had created various races of mankind, each with their peculiar gifts, nature, form, and such like. Their appearance, as I first saw them, was the same as human beings like ourselves, but with the dispositions of beasts; for beasts know also how to clean themselves, but they certainly did not. Their hair was like wickerwork clotted (?), and had no longer the colour of men's, being plastered with earth and gum, just like a buffalo's skin, and withal infested with lice and fleas to an extent

which God alone could tell. They lived without clothes or coats, nor even an undercloth to their body, but only a bit of bark as big as one's palm,—this to hide their nakedness. Then as to the hair of the face, this was also as other people, their beards being entirely unshorn (or unplucked out, as the Malays do); and their skin had not the slightest appearance of being human, but just like earth in folds smeared with gum, while the eyes watered down the cheeks. I also perceived that each carried a creel or basket on their back, in which they put all kinds of food; two quivers below their armpits, with a sumpitan over their shoulders; also a fine piece of bamboo, like one's toe, filled with the ipoh poison, and which was thrust into the sash of their waist. Thus they came up irregularly; but when they saw us they were afraid to approach. But I was standing ready with my pen full of ink in my right hand, with paper in my left, to put down what I observed or heard of them. This was my agreement with Mr. Newbold while at Malacca. So we called them to come near us several times; but they would not, being afraid of us. So they sat at a distance, huddled together, carrying the smaller children on their necks—their eyes looking wild, as if they would run off, all speaking to themselves just like birds fighting, which I wrote down thus: *ko ko kang king cha.* Such was the sound of their language, but which I could not understand.

The young Jakun I formerly mentioned now came up to us, to tell us that they were dreadfully afraid, as they saw the red coat which Mr. Newbold was at that time wearing; so he took it off. So now the three of us, viz., Mr. Westerhout, Captain Newbold, and myself, went forward to them; and when they saw this, they commenced clamouring with each other. But we now placed the presents of tobacco and puppets in their view,

through the means of the young one above mentioned; he crying out that these were from the gentlemen. The women now began to laugh and to look at us,—before this they had looked away. Now each and all laid hold of the tobacco, and thrust it into their mouths, sucking the juice. After we had sat awhile looking at them, Captain Newbold asked me to sit down beside them, to write down their words, stories, and customs, while he was at dinner; so he and Mr. Westerhout went to dine, walking also about. Now only would they speak of themselves and laugh.

I had a small book prepared, filled up with words, like a vocabulary, of which the Malays have no name; so I asked the names of this and that, which they told me, in a mixture of Malay and Portuguese. We went on till I came to the name of God, whom they called Deus. This certainly was a sign that their origin had been from the Portuguese, at the time they took Malacca from the Malays; but how had they been scattered into the jungles? This occurred probably when Malacca was again conquered by the Dutch and Malays acting in concert; and there yet remains a Portuguese church at Pangallan Tampui, as well as a graveyard in the big forest in the interior of Malacca, with stones engraved with Portuguese letters, which are written like Malay or any other language. All this subject I have argued to exhaustion, and my conclusion is that the Jakuns are descended from the Portuguese; but God alone knows, whatever men of understanding may think of their origin.

To proceed. I commenced by inquiring into their customs at marriage, when they told me that in regard to the woman, the man constantly followed her, by way of showing his desire to have her. This was made known to her friends and neighbours. So they waited till the tampui fruit season, when all collected to gather it

from all parts of the wood. Of this they made spirits. They then searched for beasts, such as the monkey, pig, snake, and what else they could get, which they collected in an open space or on a hill. They now got wood together for burning, which they used in roasting the flesh with yams. The spirits were drunk while they consumed the above, and much noise and feasting went on. They now gave the bride spirits till she was drunk, dressing her at the same time. Now the clothes are stuck with thorns and hung from her neck, and she was decked on her body and neck with forest flowers and leaves. This done they seek a knoll. The people now all assent, when the bride runs round and round the knoll, the bridegroom following trying to catch her. She soon falls, owing to her being tipsy, when the bridegroom gets hold of her. The tribe now all raise a cry of delight, and then retire; the couple also retire to the depths of the forest. This is the marriage ceremony.

I now asked about their burials, when they told me that when a friend, father, mother, or wife died, they at once left the spot, running to another—the corpse resting at the place where it lay till it was rotten, or had been eaten by wild animals; nor would they go near it again, as the *place* had killed one of their friends.

I again asked about their births, when they told me that when a woman was about to be delivered, whether it be night or day, that they made large fires to make *angun;* and when they had burnt well, they pushed away the glowing embers, leaving the ash hot. On this they bear the child; and when it is born, they cut the navel string with a sharp edge of bamboo. They now cover the child with the hot ash. The mother now takes the ash and daubs the body with it. She then encloses her child in leaves surrounded by bark, and putting it in a creel or basket, she takes it into the forest, and what-

ever food is eaten by the mother she chews and gives to her child, as well as giving the milk of her breast; and when the child is two or three years old they begin to teach it to climb trees, then to drop leaves with expertness, and such like.

I again asked the Jakuns about their religion and their idols. But they declared they knew nothing of these, but only how to seek their daily food, and that yearly, in the tampui season, they made spirits (arak), when all brought beasts to roast and eat. This time was their feast days.

I now looked into the creels or baskets on their backs, when I saw roasted yams, two or three snakes in three parts, salt, rolls (?), and turmeric, a bag full of tobacco, four Bengal potatoes, limes and other fruits, young plantains, two lubel nuts,—all these were in their basket. Also each individual had a piece of bamboo, a span in length, which he had filled with pepper and salt which had been pounded. And all these eatables they dipped in the bamboo before putting them into their mouth.

I then asked them about the poison called ipoh—its power, the origin of its being made, and the beasts that it cannot kill. To this they replied, 'At the distance of one hundred feet, all brutes or men that we shoot, if wounded—be it but a needle's size, and we can see blood —death is certain. Only elephants are an exception to this. This is owing to the thickness of the skin, and the quantity of water in their bellies—owing to this the poison is slow in taking effect.' I then asked if Jakuns had ever been killed by tigers. They said such was the case, but very rarely,—perhaps they were seldom met, as the tigers were afraid to remain in their vicinity, being afraid of their poisonous arrows. The name ipoh was from a certain tree; there is one to be seen at

Pangallan Balla, with broad leaves, bifurcating, of varying size of stem—some say to the size of a *sapmalak* (?), but what have been seen are less; other people say that at its fruit season birds and brutes avoid it, because of its poison. At first its gum is white in colour, and when the trunk rises, the bark becomes the thickness of one's thumb, when the gum oozes out slowly. The Jakuns now take the gum and mix it with various kinds of poisons, which are obtained from roots and grasses, but of which they would give no instructions. They also told me that they put the puppets in.

After this I asked them how many tribes of Jakuns there were; on which they told me there were a great many,—firstly, Benua; secondly, Jakun; thirdly, Sakai; fourthly, Udai; fifthly, Akeek; sixthly, Ryat; moreover, that the Benua were the aboriginal inhabitants, but that they were overcome by other races and princes. They had fled from fear into the recesses of the forest, and thus in process of time their habits altered, together with their language and mode of dress, even to the condition of being afraid to see the sight of mankind; yet they are of the same form as we are. As to the Sakai, they live as we do, only their habitations are on the tops of trees, so when they see mankind they flee like brute beasts. The Udai are men also, but I have never seen them, so I can say nothing of them, further than that I conjecture they live in the deep forest, to be away from the rest of the world.

I then inquired as to their habitations, whether they were houses or fixed sites, and they told me that the original habitations of the Jakuns were under the buttress roots of big trees; but, wherever they wished to stop at night, they had only to cut down a few branches and leaves to cover the spot, and there they slept, and on the morrow they left to seek food. But in places where the wild beasts were numerous, they got up in the trees to

sleep, as many of their friends had been carried off by tigers while sleeping under the crevices of the buttress roots. But now many of the Jakuns knew how to build houses like little huts, in which they remained, but that these were not real Jakuns from the first. I now perceived that they were covered with cutaneous disease; so I asked them if they ever bathed, so as to clean themselves, when they told me that they were not guilty of such a thing with water, but that when rain fell, their bodies got washed; for they added, 'If we bathed with *true* water to cleanse our filth, we to a certainty would get sick, or it would be against one of our primitive customs.'

After this I made inquiries of them relative to rumours that I had heard of their great occult skill, such as in turning people mad, affecting people by the *tuju* (pointing of the finger) till they died, creating spite between one person and another, and such like. Now know all ye gentlemen that read my story, that I give not the slightest weight to these rumours, further than they are vile calumnies, lies, and deceits. They replied to my inquiries in the following manner: True, there are many people in our tribe who are versed in such practices, for they take care of the spirits, so that these do their behests; others are skilled in medicine in all kinds of diseases, all of which are derived from the roots of trees and leaves; further, that Malays frequently came to them to ask for the required medicines.

Just as I was asking and writing all these queries, Captain Newbold and Mr. Berchi Westerhout, came to call me, telling me that it was near evening, so that we must be going, in order to get to Allor Gaja; so I put up my pen, ink, and paper. After Captain Newbold had thus made friends with the Jakuns, we arrived in Malacca; and in about five or six days they sent him a blowpipe and a bamboo joint filled with ipoh poison and accompani-

ments. When they arrived, Captain Newbold fired a poisoned arrow at a dog, which died from the effects at once, as the blood was seen; how especially then if men had been struck, how strong will be the poison; but God forbid, for ipoh is the chief of poisons amongst the Malays. Moreover, I have mentioned Jakuns in my account of my voyage to Tringunu as being in the interior of Pahang, whose employment is to bring down ivory, gum benzoin, and rattans, to sell or to exchange to the townspeople. By this means they are acquainted with the Malays, understanding their language and dressed in their costume. Thus they are very different from the Jakuns of Bukit Panchor, whose manners and customs I have above related.

I will now relate the circumstances of my intercourse with Captain Newbold. I remained with him for nearly three years, busy with Malay literature, translating even to the names of eatables and the various ingredients used in cooking, and their mode of preparation—the condiments, and their various kinds and tastes. For this purpose he gave me money to have them prepared two or three daily, which he ate, and he had other kinds the next day. This was the way between us both; we were well suited towards each other, and, having the highest regard for each other's feelings, we never had differences; so as he said I said, and what I said he said—we never made sour faces at each other. Our state was that of prince and counsellor from beginning to end. Such was the case between us when an order of the Government came to him to go, his successor having come from Madras; so he prepared to sail. His successor was Captain Ferrier. And two or three days before he sailed, he said to me that he was about to sail; 'But good-bye to you; if I live I will come back to Malacca. And I have a great wish that you may get employment here,

for if you go to Singapore, to get you back will be difficult, as I have a great deal for you to do yet, so I think I shall return quickly.' To this I replied, that I hoped he would return in safety, and that we might see each other again. So he grasped my hand. The bright day lowered into the gloom, the clouds bearing the rain now began to descend: such is the state of men about to part with their friends. So he let my hand go to wipe his eyes, and going into his room, he brought out a present for me like himself, when he told me not to forget him, and that this would be a sign to my children of our friendship. He also gave me a certificate stating how long I had taught him, and my competence in his work; for this was the custom of white people to call the good good, and the bad bad. On the same day he sailed. God had permitted me to see the face of a friend abounding with intelligence and amiability."

The expression "teaching Mr. Ebbison" sounds strange in the ears of an Englishman—a black man teaching the white one that had gone forth to regenerate the world! —yet this is one of the necessary paradoxes when universal objects are sought to be attained.

Captain Newbold was favourably known in the far East as having published the last work of its date (about 1834) on the Straits Settlements, and the introduction of our autobiographer to him is amusing. How rich the vanity displayed by poor Abdulla, yet how useful an ally must he have been to the English officer! Abdulla, by his own account, must have been sadly run upon by his friends. Towards Captain Newbold he approaches nearer than to any of his prior white friends, for now he calls himself brother. This sentiment is more agreeable in the distance, and can be perfectly safely indulged in under

such circumstances. We hope the gallant captain is still living, and will honour these remarks with a perusal.

In the visit to the Jakuns, or wild men, it will be noticed how much superiority over them Abdulla affects. This is a common fault with men of colour, and is surprising to Europeans. I have visited severally the primitive tribes, such as the Jakuns of Johore, the Sabmiba, and Muka Kuning, but could discover no physical difference between them and the Malays, though they were more simple, and not dressed in cotton prints. Yet they had none of the disgusting habits of filthiness which Abdulla seemed to have descried in the particular tribe he visited. Nature is always true to herself, and forms men in adaptation to the circumstances in which she places them, and when we look thoroughly into the reasons of their customs and habits, we find that there is a sensible reason for them. Abdulla, no doubt, writes of his *brethren* (now that he claimed that relationship with the gallant captain) as being able to speak only like the chirping of birds, yet from the vocabularies that I have seen of several of the races, such as the Samangs of Kiddah and the Mintera of Rumbau, we find that the languages are closely allied to Malay. Indeed, Malay and all the tropical languages, extending from New Guinea to Madagascar, were originally of a negroloid race, whose remnants are now only to be found in the remote districts and islands of the Malay Peninsula, Andamans, Cochin China, and the Philippines. It is the intrusion of the Mongolian that has extirpated the original race, though the language has remained almost intact,* from causes into which I need not here enter.

It is a common idea with the Malacca people that the Jakuns were Portuguese; and the Jakuns allege this

* See paper on the Barata Races in vol. iv. *Trans. New Zealand Institute*: "Whence of the Maori," by Translator.

themselves. But it is to be understood only that they were at one time converts to the enterprising missionaries of St. Francis Xavier and other apostolic leaders, who followed the fortunes of Alphonse Albuquerque at the beginning of the 16th century. Thus the word Deus, and, it may be, many others, may have been implanted in their language.

The superstitions of these people may vary in form, but they are the same in principle as the negroes of the centre of Africa and the red races of the basin of the Amazon, which may be called Fetishism; that is, they personify good and evil influences, visible or invisible, and propitiate them by spells or sacrifices. The fullest and best account of these that I know of is from the pen of Mr. J. R. Logan in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i.

Captain Newbold seems to have entered deeply into the study of the usages of the Malay. The part that would have suited me best would have been the testing of the culinary products of the fair (?) hands in Abdulla's kitchen; the practical opinion on this point, no doubt, was more palatable to the writer than the descriptions thereof could be to the reader.

At length the parting came, and the actor moved off the stage, but, as usual, with the intention of returning, which return was never realized. What can the natives think of us flitting creatures, who come and then go, whose objects in life they cannot understand, whose motives are unfathomable, and who are yet controlled by influences that seem overpowering? The sensations at parting are described by Abdulla, no doubt, as they ought to be, but not as they were. There can only be one first love, whatever oriental hyperbole may say to the contrary. We see that when our autobiographer was sick, his wife could not go one day's voyage to see him!

XXXII.

THE NANNING WAR.

"I HAD now been engaged at Singapore for about four months, when a rumour came that the English were about to make war with Nanning, and that the people of Malacca, clamoured with fear, so all those engaged in trade or other pursuits at Singapore, belonging to Malacca, were for the most part returning home to see their families. So I returned also, because of numerous letters from my father calling me. And when I had arrived, I found the town in a great state of excitement, each and every one watching their houses in fear, with weapons in their hands. I heard various rumours—some saying that in two days' time the interior folks intended to come down and massacre the townsfolks, others declaring they had come in thousands; so all took to their heels, with their weapons in their hands, some crying for their children, some falling and rising and running again. The sound of clashing of doors and windows was like a hurricane. So the thousands ran with their weapons, some crying they are yonder, others they are here. Thus there was a great hue and cry in the town, even to the drawing out of the cannons from the fort, chasing from here to there,—and all this for nothing but lying rumours, just as people fight in their dreams. The Government now gave orders for the people to set

watch in their respective quarters, with lamps burning at their doors. The people in the suburbs also flocked into the town, bringing their goods and chattels, a few only remaining outside. In the town itself nothing was to be seen but people repairing weapons, or blacksmith's shops crowded for this purpose. There were also twenties of shops for grinding, and charcoal dealers almost everywhere. Moreover, at the time I arrived at Malacca there were many officers and sepoys, with cannons and muskets, with hundreds of followers, going to fight the Nanningites; and three days after the expedition had gone the Malakites were in great tribulation, as on the morrow Mr. Lewis escaped home, only saving his life. Now, also, all the officers and sepoys *ran back* to Malacca, they having engaged the natives of the interior, losing all their cannons, muskets, Company's tents, gunpowder, shot and implements, which were left behind. All these had fallen into the hands of the interior natives, by the grace of God who knoweth.

Now, to my notion, when people hear all the stories about the war of the English with the Pengulu of Nanning, they will of course wish to know the origin of this native chief—who he was, and the cause of the war. On this account I will do my best endeavour to give the details of his history, his doings from beginning to end, truthfully, as set forth below in this page.

This comprises the Origin of the Pengulu of Nanning.

Know, then, the origin of the Pengulu of Nanning, in the district of Nanning, begins at the time of the Dutch taking Malacca from the hands of the Portuguese; for before that there was no Pengulu in Nanning, but instead thereof there were four Sukus, who governed in the times of the Portuguese. But from the year ——, when a governor called Penteus (?) held Malacca, three

commissioners were ordered to go to Nanning, to instal a Pengulu (chief). The names of these were Messrs. Sahas (?), Maddeus (?), and Fernis Gofinieru (?). And when these had arrived in Nanning, they proclaimed to the people that they had come, by order of the Governor of Malacca, to instal a chief (or Pengulu), and that they, the people, were now desired to select one from amongst themselves, and to make their choice known.

So all the old and young men gathered together and chose Dato Sarajah Mara, of the tribe Beduanda, to be Pengulu; whereupon the commissioners acknowledged him chief. This was the origin, his tribe being Beduanda, in Nanning. So they returned to Malacca, when the Governor gave him a seal as a token; and under this he had charge of Nanning for many years, when he died. He was succeeded by his nephew on the female side. This was the second Pengulu, he also being designated Sarajah Mara, of the tribe of Beduanda; but at the time of his charge the captain of the Malays in Malacca was Dato Arum. And there was one, by name Ganit de Langit, who carried off a concubine of the Sultan of Johore, and took her to Moar. On this the Sultan of Johore sent a letter with imprecations to the captain of the Malays above-named, at Malacca, to make away with him. So Dato Arum called Joamagit, and asked him if he could undertake to kill Ganit de Langit. Joamagit replied with obeisance, 'Your slave will undertake to kill him, but I beg to have a weapon given me for the purpose.' So the captain gave him a kris. So he went and killed Ganit de Langit; and after he was dead, the woman was sent back to the Sultan of Johore, who invested Joamagit with a sword, a slave, a coat, and an ure, and he accepted these marks of favour.

The Pengulu of Nanning at this time was old, and his

memory defective, when Dato Arum went to the Governor of Malacca, whose name was Elam Pashani (?), in the year of the Hejira 1118, *i.e.* A.D. 1702, asking that Joamagit be made Pengulu of Nanning. The Governor assented to this, having the concurrence of the present Pengulu. Joamagit was therefore invested with the name of Saraja Mara. This was the third, being of the Samalangang tribe. After he had been in charge of Nanning some time, he died, and was succeeded by his nephew on the female side, called Gagah. He, again, after he had charge of Nanning for some time, being the fourth, also died. He was then succeeded by his nephew on the female side, called Mulana Karang. This was the fifth Pengulu of Nanning, his tribe being the Samalangang, the third, and he died. He was succeeded by his nephew on the female side, by name Janggut; this was the sixth Pengulu, and of the same tribe the fourth, and he died. He was succeeded by his nephew on the female side, by name Tambah; this was the seventh, the fifth of the Samalangang tribe, and he died. He was succeeded by his nephew on the female side, by name Unuk; he was the eighth, the sixth of the latter tribe, and he died in the year of the Hejira ——. And he was succeeded by a relative on the female side called Dul Syed; he it was who was installed by Colonel Taylor, an English Governor of Malacca. And the captain of Malays at that time in Malacca was Inchi Mabub. Dul Syed was the ninth Pengulu of Nanning, and the seventh of the Samalangang tribe; he was in charge in the year of the Hejira 1247 (A.D. 1831), and it was he who rebelled against the English Government on account of the revenue payable by Nanning.

It had been the custom from all former times for Nanning to pay the revenue in Malacca annually, either in unhusked rice, or fowls, or ducks, or fruit, and such like,

—that is, these were sent to the house of the Governor in Malacca. But at the year above given, the East India Company desired that over all the produce of Nanning and its bounds the Pengulu should pay one-tenth, which he thought to be too heavy. Further, as the former system was established by inherited custom from his ancestors, he would not follow the new desire of the Government. On this account the Company attacked him, till numbers of officers, sepoys, and subjects were killed on either side. The war lasted for more than a year. The commencement of the fighting was in the year of the Hejira 1248 (A.D. 1832), when he was defeated, when he betook himself to Padang Passir.

The sub-Governor of Malacca at that time was Mr. Samuel Garling, and the Governor of the three settlements, Mr. Bonham. These gentlemen then went to Nanning and created fifteen Pengulus:—First, Pengulu Ikan Limak, of the Belala Munja tribe; second, Pengulu Peku, of the Mamat tribe at Batu Balang; third, Pengulu Malkiniak, of the Mulana Sultan tribe at Butu Ballang; fourth, Pengulu Taboh, of the Safor tribe at Samalangang; fifth, Pengulu Landu, of the Kemass tribe at Tiga Batu; sixth, Pengulu Ayer Pak Amas, of the Dul tribe, a Malacca man; seventh, Pengulu Briu, of the Aludin tribe, a Malacca man; eighth, Pengulu Sungei Siput, of the Laut tribe at Samalangang; ninth, Pengulu Padang Sabang, of the Guro tribe at Tiga Naik; tenth, Pengulu Tanjing Rimau, of the Langav tribe at Tiga Batu; eleventh, Pengulu Pulo, of the Talib tribe at Mengkal; twelfth, Pengulu Kamoning, of the Odin tribe at Samalangang; thirteenth, Pengulu Bating Malacca, of the Kojeh tribe at Mengkal; fourteenth, —— ——; fifteenth, Pengulu Tabong, of the Dul Kanji tribe at Beduanda. After they had created all these Pengulus,

then the elders of the four Sukers of equal authority were:—First, Dato Membangun tribe at Tigu Batu; second, Andik Maharaja tribe of Malacca; third, Raja Nangui tribe at Samalangang; fourth, Orang Kia Kichi tribe at Mengal. All these were divided by Mr. Bonham.* After this, on the 1st November, ——, the country of Nanning was put under the charge of Mr. Berchi Westerhout, to rule the same, when he proceeded to the district. Then on the 4th of February following, by the will of God, Dul Syed came and gave himself up to Mr. Berchi, who brought him to Mr. Samuel Garling in Malacca,—at which place he was appointed to remain a state prisoner on parole, he getting a monthly allowance of thirty † sicca rupees, where he remains to this day engaged in making a garden at Gaja Bring. Thus he was settled finally, with his wife and children.

After I had seen all these things and the different races of men engaged in them,—some coming from Bengal, others from Madras, in various dresses; some kneeling to fire, others lying prostrate to do so; others going to battle disguised as buffaloes,—there also came a ship loaded with hundreds of oxen with long horns, of such a height as I had never seen before, nor had any of the Malacca people. The purpose of these was to draw cannon and warlike material. They astonished us so much that even all the children cried out as they were passing, 'Oh, the long-horned bullocks!'

But the story of the Nanning war is a long one, so I only give the heads of it, and there is no necessity for me to compose it, insomuch as I have shown its origin and cause. It was a great affair, and no doubt known to most

* Afterwards Sir Samuel Bonham, Bart.

† Mr. Blundell says 100 Rs.

people, on which I need not dilate, as an officer called Major Begbie has made a book* on it in the English language, and in which I assisted him a little in regard to the Malay affairs; that is, on the origin of the Malays, Malacca, and the names of their settlements,—all these he learnt from me."

The Nanning war was one of those wars of Xerxes in which the East India Company used to indulge, no doubt from sufficient motives. They were good for trade, both home and colonial, and the Malacca store-keepers would not be the least amongst the supporters. It brought in foreign capital to be scattered amongst them, and the good times of the war of Java would be in the recollection of many. There can be no doubt that the East India Company lost prestige in the eyes of the Malays by their management of the affair, which assumed leviathan proportions, as the attack of all barbarous tribes hidden in forests must do when undertaken by regular armies. Sir James Brooke, with two hundred of his men, would have brought in the Pengulu in the course of six weeks,—as it was, this service required several regiments, who would not march till a way had been cleared, several chains in width, through the tall forest for a distance of twenty miles. This was the real labour of the war, and appeared ridiculous to the natives. The regular troops were calculated for action only on the open plains of India; for such a country as the Malay Peninsula they were the wrong material. The *impedimenta* of an Indian army are enormous, and the habits acquired even by the European officers are obstructive to enterprise. Bass and Allsopp will have

* Much lampooned in the Madras papers for its pathos.

much to account for in future years, when trials of strength come between us and other European governments. The climate is debilitating enough, but the quantity of beer consumed makes it doubly worse; it tends to make the bodily system inert and obese, creating a tendency to fever. I always found beer drinkers easily prostrated by a little exertion, and would vote that the beverage be abolished from the Indian army. The officers are brave, but they should always be in a condition to undertake hardships without flagging, or being prostrated by the diseases which the use of malt liquor nourishes. A love for beer is promoted by the climate, and is ultimately detrimental to sound habits and self-respect. In fact, in India, if real service is to be done, neither ales nor spirits should be taken, unless occasionally, after exposure to wet; no man requires them habitually till he is past forty.*

Crawfurd informs us that "Nanning covers an area of about 400 square miles, having a population of about 6,000 souls; a poor and unprofitable possession." Of the Nanning war, Mr. E. A. Blundell, formerly Governor of the Straits, says that no one could be proud of it except a few native chiefs, who still chuckle with delight at the idea of having caused the English to retreat. The war, he adds, was "caused by the non-payment of a tribute of 400 gantangs of paddy, value 12 dollars, which cost the Government of India 20 lacs of rupees, and ended by pensioning the rebel chief on a salary of 100 rupees a month, a larger sum than the man had ever possessed at one time. It will thus be seen that the cause of the war is stated differently by

* I have known a European so addicted to beer, that he required to have a coolie carrying a three-dozen case after him if he left his house for any time. Of course in this instance the addiction was a disease, and he soon killed himself. He was not a soldier, however. It is said he attained to the maximum of twenty bottles daily.

Europeans and native authorities, the latter alleging that it was owing to the tribute being raised from the established one to one-tenth of the whole produce. There are always reasons for things, and I can imagine the latter to be the correct one; so, after all, the war did not begin from trivialities. No doubt it was a legitimate thing to try and make the Nanningites pay for the protection afforded them from outside foes, which they would not have been lax in calling for, yet to transport one-tenth of their gross produce over swamps and through forests for twenty miles would have been no small undertaking. It appeared to them to be worth fighting for,—and, after all, Mr. Berchi Westerhout, a country-born Dutchman, was the real finisher of the war, for he himself went and cajoled the rebel chief to come in and accept from the Government (for him) a handsome pension.

To the British tax-payer the story has an interest in this manner,—while he pays £2 8*s*. a head per annum, his "much oppressed" fellow-subjects of a part of India are paying only half a farthing. Pity is often misplaced, and how often is not the English public wheedled out of their money by false sentiment.

It will be noticed that the sisters' sons inherited the dignity of Pengulu. This is a Siamese custom, and on asking the reasons, the natives give a practical one suited to their social system, viz. that it guarantees the true blood. The whole of Nanning, which has cost so much, would not cover a sheep-run in New Zealand.

The autobiography goes on to relate certain scandals in the Malay court, which are of little interest.

XXXIII.

NATIVE PRINCES.

"Now, it is but proper that all these wonders related above (scandal in the Sultan's court) should be remembered by us for our edification, as we have witnessed them in God's omnipotence, by which He overshadows His slaves. Astonishing indeed is it to see a Sultan of high descent and ancient lineage, of mighty power, further, and who had allowances to the extent of 1300 Spanish dollars, with his palace and surrounding greatness, leaving all, and casting himself away from one country to another, wedding his daughter to a vulgar Kling, and so with six or seven of his sons. For it is well known by the Malay laws, as well as those of Europe and China, that it is by no means becoming to mingle the blood of the subject with that of princes. But all this, in its sanctity, had been forgotten, which would be punished by God, and that not by beating with a stick or a stone, nor by stripes with a rod, but unawares, and by restlessness at night, or other means above our comprehension. Nevertheless, mischief would come of it, more especially as the doings of Malay princes are not little oppressions; such as in ravishing of the wives and daughters of their subjects just as they lust, with as little thought as the catching of a chicken, and as little fear of God, to the shame of His creatures. Again,

killing these people as if they were nothing better than ants, they having done no crime calling for death. Further, in taking men's goods by force, killing the owners, or keeping them captive; never paying their debts; given to gambling, cock-fighting, keeping multitudes of slaves, who despoil God's creatures, stabbing them; or, as is the case in Borneo and Koti, where they commit piracies on the European ships, killing the crews. Further, they send their spear to people's houses, oppressively requiring their goods and chattels; forcing betrothals, and such like misdemeanours of different grades, of which I am ashamed to write in my story. Moreover, they humiliate the slaves of God, who are created like themselves, looking on them like dogs,—as, for example, when they go along the road people have to sit down in the middle of the road till they are past, whether it be in the mud or the filth, all are ordered to squat down. More especially, again, they make hundreds and twenties of daughters of their subjects into concubines, closing them in their harems, and once or twice in taking concubines they keep them till death, not allowing them to marry other men; and were such to marry, they would kill and root out the whole house of such a woman. The fathers and the mothers of their concubines may be sick unto death, yet are they not allowed to go out to see them. And while they detain them in their courts, yet they do not feed and clothe them sufficiently, but treat them as slaves; but when they are enamoured of a woman, they blindly obey her in all her behests. If she wants to kill, he kills accordingly. All these hang on their lusts only, not on justice or the laws of Islam, nor on the counsel of the public, but on their self-will. Then, as a matter of course, each raja has ten or fifteen children, but some have twenty or thirty. Such children have the nature and disposition of brute beasts, owing to

their undergoing no teaching from their fathers in any good direction when young, but only following sensuality, becoming practised in evil, such as cock-fighting, gambling, opium eating, treachery, and assassination; and when they grow big, if the father does one quarter of wickedness, the son does three-quarters more than he. And all the slaves of God that feel their wickedness, oppression, and injustice, have no redress but to the Lord, who sees and hears the howlings and lamentations of mankind, and He it is who will repay all these doings with true justice. And these sleep soundly before they reflect, but when it is light God repays them.

Is it not true that in this part of the world full half has been originally under the government, laws, and direction of the Malays, for I have seen in many histories and traditions of the race making mention of Malay princes of old, their power, greatness, and worth? Then what is the reason that God has taken these from them, giving them to other races? Is it not because of their oppression and overburdening injustice, by which God has depressed them, and put them under the government of other races? Then if this state and these manners be perpetuated, God alone can foretell; but to my idea, who am unlearned,—whose knowledge comes not of himself,—to a certainty the very name of Malay will be lost in the world, by the will of the Almighty; for have I not read in many books that He is at enmity with such oppressors? And from this sentence I draw my argument, that when one hates God he will be destroyed. Delay, then, to fight the Almighty.

Moreover, because in my age I have seen many Malay countries destroyed and becoming wildernesses, places for elephants and tigers, by reason of the oppressiveness and injustice of rajas and sons of rajas,—such

as Selangore, and Perak, and Queda; again, as Padang, and Moar, and Batu Pahat, and Kissung, and how many more places the same as these. Now, in former times all these were rich countries, beautiful and full of people; but now the name remains only, after reverting into forest, the inhabitants having removed to other places—some in poverty, eating one day and starving two days;—all these griefs and misfortunes come from the oppressions of the rajas and the sons of rajas. And not to look at the distance, see Padang, how well populated it was at one time; how many its men of wealth and variety of merchandise coming out from thence, in those times I allude to; how immense the quantities of betel-nut exported, numbers of ships yearly carrying this production to Kalinga and Bengal; besides this, the quantities of ivory, benzoin, and rattans; nor were durians eaten in Malacca unless they were the durians of Padang, and these in such abundance as to bring two or three doits only each (about a farthing to a halfpenny); also mangosteens were in millions, for which four or five stores were erected in Malacca, in which to keep them—here they sold for five or six to the doit (one-eighth of a penny),—but of dukus they could not be reckoned, they were so abundant; half of Malacca was raised up with the skins of these fruits brought from Padang; and in regard to other fruits that came from thence, they were beyond my powers of relation.

Now, I myself have gone to see the mangosteen and durian gardens, and when I got to the top of a mangosteen tree, I could see that for two or three miles they extended without break; and in the durian season the fruit fell in thousands, and these were of the villages only, and not of the hills. The name of these hills is Moara. But as to the myriads of trees, God alone could

count them, for their rearing was the business of the population of Padang in former times, and at their season they cleared them only, and at the time of falling it was their occupation to collect them. Many of the merchants of Malacca became rich from the trade of Padang; the rents returned thousands of dollars annually, too numerous to detail. Thus the country rejoiced in ease and comfort. This was at the time Sultan Mahomed governed Linga, Rhio, and Pahang, and Padang Moar and Batu Pahat acknowledged him. And he watched them justly, well, and with moderation, in the manner above related.

Then after Sultan Mahomed died there came sons of rajas from various places. Thus in about three days after the event, one touched at Padang, and as he landed on the beach, he ordered his lance forward, requesting rice, fowls, and what else he desired. Now, the people of Padang were very simple, looking on the name of rajas and sons of rajas as gods, reverencing them with their bones all trembling; so they gave their property away to him, not receiving a doit for the same. So he went away, when ten or fifteen days afterwards came three or four other sons of rajas, each and every one requesting, and some even landing themselves and taking by force, like pirates, whatever they saw, using them as their own; the owners only winking their eyes, the fools, from fear of the sons of the rajas. So they bore all. These sons of rajas had no shame, nor fear of God nor the people, so they did as their evil propensities led them. Some of them also behaved like brute beasts, laying hold of and desecrating the young women. After these had gone then others came, and what they wanted could not be denied them; for if they were denied or opposed, they did not stop at murder or house-burning, till even the cocoa-nut trees were destroyed, and felled to the ground.

Thus they destroyed all the slaves of God by their injustice and oppressions, till they were scattered abroad, deserting their villages and village greens, their cultivated fields and rice plots, fleeing to various places. Thousands were thus sent astray along the coasts, leaving their dwelling to revert to forest—a place for tigers and elephants. Does not God know all their sufferings and burdens, and has He not also been their avenger?

Hear, O gentlemen, of another wonder which especially affects a custom of Malay rajas, and which is not a Mahomedan one, nor of any other race in the world; but it is a devilish custom, sensual and wicked. That is, in Malay rajas taking people's children and making concubines of them, and this without the slightest consideration of the feelings of the parents, their own flesh and blood. Thus their child, as it were, is dead to them. They force these girls in their houses, calling a worthless khatib, or libby, who knows nothing of the rules of our faith, but greedy only after hire. So the raja orders the girl to be connected to him by the process called *nika* with the *kris*. So one girds on the *kris*, placing water and *sirih*. Thus the khatib fills hell: for fear of the raja the woman is under *nika* by the *kris*. It is then asked if the ceremony of the *nika* is as established, when the khatib declares it to be so. Thus many children become accursed. Owing to this, the proceedings are as if the devil was not afraid of God himself, nor ashamed before the people. All these are unjust and oppressive, which God will reward according to their deserts. Beware, all ye, of these unjust and oppressive deeds, if you maintain them in such a manner, for to a certainty God will rain down fire from heaven to burn and destroy you. Know ye not how many nations of prophets of old, from injustice, oppres-

sions, and rebellion, have been destroyed by the Almighty, by great winds or by heavenly fire, or by overwhelming oceans, and such like evils, together with the curse of God on tyrants and oppressors; for these are at variance with Him.

I have also wondered at another injustice which a person told me had come upon himself at the country of Reteh, which was to the following effect:—When the sons of rajas go abroad and arrive at a place, all the inhabitants come before them with presents; after which they return to their houses. And while the son of a raja remains there, he orders his slaves to land, asking for this and that; so the slaves go and take whatever they see, catching fowls and kids, climbing the cocoa-nut and betel-nut trees, and so forth,—none daring to prevent them, as they carry the lance of the raja. And when the slaves of the raja see any one finding fault in the least, they forbear, but mark the house, and return to their prows, and tell their master that in such a house there is a deal of rice. So in the morning, before the people have risen from sleep, the raja's slaves go and pretend to step up the ladder of the house, and to fall down; and when they have fallen, they run to their raja and complain in this manner: 'O raja, you ordered your slave to go to such an one's house, and as I was going up the ladder to his door, it broke down and I fell.' So the raja is enraged, and tells his slave to take his lance and demand a fine of forty dollars at once. Upon this the slaves are quite delighted, and go off bearing the lance, and demand the fine of forty dollars, —and this peremptorily, even to the pledging or selling. If this demand be not met, then they lay hold of the children, so the owners sell the house or go into debt, in order that may they find the forty dollars. Such is the manner of the oppression and injustice of sons of

rajas, which is a subject of play and pleasure amongst themselves.

Moreover, if these affairs come to the ears of the sovereign, he will not interfere, nor even make inquiry, being afraid of his sons troubling him, or even *amoking*, —because of this he says nothing. It is thus with fire: when it is small, it is a friend; but when great, it is an enemy, and destruction comes on all the slaves of God. It is their opinion that they are specially favoured by God with the keys of government in this world; for this reason they follow their own desires, good or bad, and whatever their sensuality dictates they do. Thus they become the slaves of sensuality itself. Very good, I am pleased too. But can ye, O rajas, always live thus, and not die. Do ye not think the Lord's word is true, when He says, 'All ye sensualists shall die to eternity,' and that when the time comes He will inquire most certainly of you, rewarding you for your good or evil deeds. And do you shut your ears or eyes so that ye hear not nor see the customs and laws of the white man (Europeans). If they wish to put to death any one for his crime—that is, a crime that deserves death—how much examination, consideration, consultation, and care over it have they not, together with the testimony of witnesses; and these also have to prove themselves to the satisfaction of twelve jurymen, in every particular, before they will assent to death. Even after this, the judge seeks out a road, if possible, to save the life of the accused. And if there be no way to do so, then only does he give the judgment of death. Thus God gives safety to the Queen."

The allowances of the Malay Sultan, and Abdulla's remarks thereon, will show how much we, in our estimates, are guided by relative comparison. £3,600 a year would be thought a very small sum for a potentate of high descent and ancient lineage. It is to be remembered, at the same time, that the money was well spent on the Sultan, as it kept his followers from piracy.

Abdulla's remarks on sovereigns mixing their blood with subjects will not go down now a days, after the marriage of the Marquis of Lorne.

Abdulla here shows his perfect abhorrence of the doings of his native princes. There are, no doubt, foundations for his complaints, but he, being a British subject, could never have had any knowledge of these doings from experience, so he must have written from hearsay. At this time he had been long connected with the American Protestant missionaries, and, writing his autobiography at their instance, he would naturally make his anti-monarchical views as strong as possible. At the same time, it must be remarked that most of the Malay States have their "ūndang-ūndang," or written laws, by which sovereign and people are guided, and as *leges mori serviant*, they would be suitable to the state of civilization in which nature had placed the populations. I myself have perused the laws of Kiddah, and such was my impression at the time. In mediæval times in Europe, the privileges of the lords of the manors over the maidens are known to have been very obnoxious to our present social system.

The oppressions and over-burdening injustice spoken of by Abdulla come, in the first place, from the people themselves, in being so listless in asserting their rights. The former greatness of Malay kingdoms is also greatly exaggerated. The records of Marco Polo prove this, as

he passed through the Archipelago when they ought to have been at the summit of their power.

On the fate of Padang it is to be noticed that, as the Malays will not pay taxes, so they cannot command good government. Everything has its price, and so has good government, as we well know in New Zealand, where we pay £7 a head per annum for it. So populations paying from half-a-farthing up to six shillings must take the alternative, and submit to intermittent levies on their families, goods, and chattels. On the whole, they will get off the cheaper after all. True, the Malays have no roads, but then they have no road-rates; true they have no sewerage, but then they have no house-rates; true they have no gas, water, or other conveniences into their houses, yet they have no gas and water-rates. Then they have no railways, but two or three hundred of them are not occasionally crushed or burned to death; and then they have no steam vessels, so five or six hundred of them are not drowned like rats, as in the Atlantic traders. Last, not least, they have no coal mines, so we never hear of two or three hundred husbands being smothered to death below the houses in which their wives are living. All they have to bear, even by Abdulla's account, is the occasional squeeze by their own princes in search of provisions, pleasure, or sensuality. So there can be no guarantee against oppression without a settled government, properly supported by taxation. This applies to autocratic and democratic, with all the other shades of systems; but burdens and misfortunes come, whichever way you turn.

Yet Abdulla in his fervour rises to the standard of another Elijah. Tropical governments, no doubt, are sadly weak; strength only comes of chasteness. I could mention instances that have come under my notice, but forbear. I know many of my countrymen think otherwise.

The lance is the usual sign of authority amongst Malays, and is carried by the king's messengers. I see Abdulla questions the divine right of kings notwithstanding.

In a future state he appears to be an implicit believer.

His last sentence explains how readily native governments yield to the Europeans, their justice being known far and wide. There is nothing so assuring as the sight of an English judge sitting with calm consideration of the suits before him.

The death and burial of Sultan Hassain next follows, but is untranslated.

XXXIV.

MR. ALFRED NORTH.

"MOREOVER, in the year of the Hejira 1251, and the 20th day of the month Jamada-l-Ula, *i.e.* in the year of the Messiah 1835, on the 12th day of the month October; and in the Hindoo year Manmada, and on the 28th day of the month Pertasaia,—on this date I had translated a history from the Hindoo language into Malay. Its origin was also Hindoo, and its name in that language was *Panjatandaran*, but in Malay *Galila dan Demina;* of which I made an excellent composition—this by the assistance of a friend well versed in the Hindoo, by name Tomby Matuber Papater, of Malacca.

I took great pains to know the contents of this book, as it had a great fund of stories, sayings, and proverbs, as well as relations and parallels exemplifying knowledge, wit, and acuteness, for the use of readers. It is true that the stories were merely fables, but which we need not mind, in as far as the stories and relations go; so I would not ask you, O readers, to believe them—for do not you know yourselves that they are surely the composition of men, and not intended as true?—but what I would want of you is to select the right and set aside the rubbish.

So I forewarn all such as wish to see and read the above work, that I have placed it in the hands of

Mr. Alfred North, an American—one who bathes and drinks to his heart's content in the sea of the Malay language; for he is an especial disciple of mine, in whom I have the greatest trust in translating English into Malay, according to the correct idiom, and in no way like the same work by the English, who compose Malay in their own idiom—as, for instance, *kapada iang mana aku tela perchaia*, and *deri pada siapa aku tela mendoput*, and *dingan iang mana iya tela meniatakan baniak orang*, and *pergi ka passar dan bili ayam;* and as I have found in the Gospel of St. Luke thousands of such ungrammatical expressions, as well as in their ordinary compositions. These call themselves clever (!) in Malay; but each say this for themselves only, and such (as above) is their Malay. But Mr. North, after seven or eight years' sinking and rising in the study of Malay, admitted to me that he had not yet mastered it; for the natives of each nation alone could do so in their respective tongues. Thus no foreigner can be a critic in any language but his own."

The work translated by Abdulla I have not seen, but others that I have seen in Tamil abound in excellent maxims. Mr. North was an American Protestant missionary to the heathen, and it sounds somewhat odd to see Abdulla, a Mahomedan, calling him an especial disciple of his. This shows with what different eyes people see. Over-estimation of self is the commonest of faults. In Mr. North Abdulla had now found a pupil that would really apply himself. On looking back at his story, we see that only three others besides Mr. North gained his respect and admiration, viz. Raffles, Milne, and Newbold; but North appears to have sur-

passed all in his competent acquirement of the language of which Abdulla was a teacher. His adverse criticisms of the English translations are well-founded; and now at last he had found a white man that would pay respect due to a native *guru.*

This appears now a proper time to notice the different missions in the Straits, especially at Singapore, though I touch on dangerous ground by doing so in an unbiassed manner. There were in my time four missions for the conversion of the heathen,—two Protestant and two Roman,*—which discordant arrangement had much the same effect as I have observed it to have in New Zealand, and which eventuated in the setting up of a new religion called Hauhanism. One Protestant mission was from London; the other from (I believe) Boston, in the United States. As I was only a casual observer, I cannot give a full account of their system, but I can safely state that its principal feature was to set up schools for children; beyond this they may be said not to have mixed with the natives. As I traversed the settlements for seventeen years in all directions, I never met a Protestant missionary out of the towns but once, and he was under the protection of the resident official. No doubt their labours would have a limited effect, but this amongst the descendants of Europeans only. When they educated the children of Mahomedan, Hindoo, and Bhuddist parents, the effects were most apparent in the contempt by their scholars for all religion, and the adoption of an ethical superciliousness in lieu thereof. The material on which they had to work was a species of Fetishism, *i.e.* all unusual objects were supposed to have special spirits attached to them; such as large trees,

* I do not use the word Roman in an offensive light, but as distinct from Anglican, Greek, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Nestorian, Malabaru, and Teutonic.

rocks, round stones, tops of hills and headlands. This was the basis of the mind of the people, on which Mahomedanism, Hindooism, and Bhuddism had been, from time to time, superimposed by northern races. Now it was sought to substitute Protestant Christianity, which ignored all these ideas, and, besides, attacked the vital parts of their social system, viz. polygamy and slavery. Thus the mission difficulty was enormously increased; superstition and spiritism might be overcome, and materialism or reason substituted, but the institutions innate from all time could not be done away with. Hence the cause of want of success—a circumstance which soon led to the breaking up of the two missions, and the dispersion of the labourers to more promising fields.

Now, as to the Roman missions, one was French and the other Portuguese. The latter had lost all its vitality, for the days of Francis Xavier had gone. All it did was to show a useless opposition to its more energetic rival. This rival was under the direction of one well versed in human nature, and alert to every chance that tended to increase his neophytes. His mode of working was entirely different from that of the Protestant missionaries. He and his assistants were seen at all times of the day and night trudging along the roads and through the forests, visiting the various native houses and villages. And here they only followed natural laws, as well as their Protestant opponents. The young unmarried priesthood of Rome delighted in excursions, new scenery, and experiences. Their bed might be on the ground for that matter. The married priesthood, on the contrary, held to the school-form or studio, that his regularity as a devoted husband might not be questioned. In short, one courted sunstroke and the other liver complaint, that both should die martyrs.

They gave their principal attention to the Chinese, in

whose interests, temporal as well as spiritual, they cast their whole thoughts. If a Chinaman had a plea at the police-office or the court, or before any of the public departments, there were his French missionary friends alongside of him. I saw little of schooling here. Human nature seems to have been taken as it was found, and manipulated accordingly, and self-interest is the best of polemical arguers. Thus, before I left Singapore, I found Christian Chinese in all parts of the settlement, both in the open and the forest; these to the number of from two to five thousand. Often, when halting at mid-day for a little shelter from the sun, I have gone into the Chinese Gambier bangsals, where I have found the crucifix over the altar instead of the Joss. But otherwise you could see no difference. I do not say it by way of commendation, but here superstitious reverence was in no way interfered with. The transitions effected appeared to be without a struggle. But yet polygamy and slavery remained to be overcome; these in Singapore would not be very serious difficulties, as few of the Chinese were married in the settlement,—probably not one in twenty,—and the other institution was suppressed as much as possible by the English Government.

I have observed of people who have never been out of Europe, that these vital difficulties to the introduction of that phase of Christianity that is most agreeable to the mind of the people there, are not apparent. This is not to be wondered at. But missionaries find them to be too certain; nor dare they accept the Christianity of Abyssinia, as such could have no support on their basis of operations. Contact with the black man may have its advantages, but the counter objections balance the account. Could European and American missionaries imitate the conduct of the Mahomedan

ones, their influence and religion would spread like wild fire. Let the ladies marry the elevated natives, and the gentlemen make similar connections, and, the bond of sympathy thus being practical, the superior mind of the white would enormously increase its functions and range. In this manner the white whalers and sealers of New Zealand were the real proselytizers there. It was by their native marriages and connections that they paved the way for Marsden, Selwyn, and other Christian apostles, who now had only to develop by nurture a tree whose seed had been planted, and whose shoots were coming forth out of the ground. And yet a widespread reaction took place against Christianity in the native mind, fully twenty years after it was thought to be firmly established. This was due, no doubt, to many causes; but one of the most influential was that of the ever-increasing presence of the white woman, whose interests demanded that her countrymen should hold the Maori apart. The two races thus became distinct *castes,* having no common bond; thus estrangement, leading to virulent animosity, followed. What effect the measures of the beneficent and benevolent McLean may lead to is yet to be seen.

But to return to our subject. Missionary influence in the far East, as I have seen it, has not had the stimulus which it had in New Zealand, and the efforts, so far, have in no practical manner got hold of the *indoor* sympathies of the people. Till that is done no advancement can be made, unless the tactics of the Romanists are pursued. But this is impossible for Protestants. Thus our missionaries are placed between two dilemmas, viz., to sacrifice their home associations, nay more, their country and very blood; or to do virtually nothing. True, education they can give, but this merely sharpens the weapons of ethical acuteness against them. *Faith*

alone, which comes of inner conviction, and which is promoted by social connection, will do it. I once went through this subject fully with an honest and intelligent American missionary, and such was the conclusion at which we arrived.

So fully was I persuaded of this, that when a society for the elevation of the Maori was got up in Otago, on being called upon for my subscription by three maiden ladies, I said I would subscribe if they would promise to marry a Maori after he had been elevated. But the bargain was rejected with scorn, and I kept my money, being of opinion that there might be self-conceit on their part, but no true Christian philanthropy. They would artificially elevate a being so as he could see the degraded position from which he had risen, and then refuse him the consolations of the higher sphere to which they had raised him. This was promising him bread and giving him a stone.

After this the Chamber of Commerce is noticed; but we proceed to the next translation.

XXXV.

PERTURBATIONS OF THE NATIVES ABOUT THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

"I WILL now tell about the English church at Singapore. It is situated in the centre of the plain of what was Kamunting and Sikadudus scrub. After it had been cleared by Colonel Farquhar, in a short time there came sepoys with their officers, who were stationed on the site. They remained here during the time of Colonel Farquhar; but after this all were removed to the lines on the road towards Tullo Blangah, where are now to be seen houses appropriate for officers. So from that time the plain remained open—a place for racing horses, and for the Europeans to take an airing in the evenings. Then by-and-by one or two European houses were built on the plain.

Then, coming down to the year of the Hejira 1254, or A.D. 1838, during Mr. Bonham's governorship and Mr. Wingrove's police commissionership, the English gentlemen residents combined to erect a great church; for, before this, Mr. Thomsen had only erected a small one, where the English went to worship. So when the combination was completed each gave as he could afford; also subscriptions came in from other quarters. So now they commenced to lay the foundations of the church, the architect of which was Mr. Coleman, who reared

it as we now see it; but he placed on the top of the pediment a cross—that is, a post with three branches, made out of lime—at which, I have heard, many of the English were not pleased, as this was following the custom of the *Nasrani* (meaning Roman Catholics).

Now hear, O gentle reader, about a very stupid affair which got into the heads of mankind, *i.e.* the Klings, Malays, and Chinese in Singapore and Malacca. When the church was finished, the usual track (a short cut) skirted it, so numbers of convicts were placed to watch the material lying about; afterwards they were ordered not to let people pass by that way, for four gates had been placed at the corners of the square, which had also been hedged with bamboo. So the convicts had always to find fault with the people entering inside, but the people would not attend to them. This enraged the convicts, who ran after the people with sticks when they saw them enter. These people now made off under the impression that the convicts wanted to kill them. Immediately after this occurrence, two men coming from Campong Glam, wanting to go to Singapore town, entered the enclosure (or the short cut), when they were chased also, and ran calling out that the convicts wanted to murder them. Out of these proceedings arose numberless rumours—some to this effect, that the Governor had ordered people to be killed for the sake of the heads, which were intended to feast the spirit in the church. This was because of a dream that the Governor had, in which the spirit came to him, asking for the heads of people, and threatening that if this were not granted he himself would be killed, with all his retinue. Others said that there was a hole in the church, where all the heads were piled up; whilst others said that numbers of people had been made away with silently, all of whom had been murdered by the convicts, who

carried off their heads. Others again told about children, having gone a-missing, having been killed by the same.

Two or three now went to complain at the police-office; but they could get no redress, being told to fetch the murderers. Others said that the murderers' masters had arranged the affair: for this reason they would not listen to complaints. All these foolish rumours were circulated from one person to another till they got abroad. This set all the people in a state of consternation, even to the keeping in of the children, and when people themselves had to go out, it was with caution and with arms; so when night came, the plain was deserted—no one dare go near it,—and if people were forced to go by, it was in company, all being armed. And wherever I went nothing else was asked but the truth or falsehood of the rumours, when I enlightened them as to their falsehood, telling them they were very big lies, and utterly adverse to the customs of the English, their laws and regulations. Further, that they, the English, had not the slightest belief in evil spirits and such dreams. Had they not observed them, having lived so long under their government, when, in the case of murderers, these were searched out, and no amount of money would hush the prosecution? How much money was not also spent in following up murderers? Nor would a great war even prevent the pursuit—even utter destruction would not make them give in: until the murderer was hung, they were never satisfied. So, indeed, it would be wonderful if they ordered convicts to kill twenties of people in an open plain, to get the heads to put in their church. How foolish is not this, and what a misfortune it is that men can believe so. A person, whose hair was as white as his foolishness and lying were great, now answered me: 'The rumours are true, for yesterday people saw the convicts skulking at

Campong Glam.' To this I replied, 'Perhaps the convicts were thieving or deserting—who can know?' To this he replied, 'At Tullo Ayer, last night, a convict ran after a Chinaman to kill him, when all the people ran trembling, seizing their weapons as for a great fight;' that he himself was astonished at the affair, but he had seen it, and men of position had also related the same, so he concluded that all was true. Thus I was put to shame, and had to be quiet; I did not argue further, but I kept the matter to myself, and made it my business to go to Tullo Ayer to see if the tale was correct or not.

Then, after I had inquired into the circumstances, I found the whole rumour false. It was not a convict, but a constable had beat a Chinaman because he made an uproar in the middle of the night. On getting a stroke with a rattan, the Chinaman ran off crying, which put people in a fright, till the cry got up of 'Convicts! convicts!' Thus a little affair had been made into a big one—the few had become many; as the Malays say, the news may be excellent, but men's sense tells whether it be true or false, and no one denies it. Thus one night a great disturbance arose in the merchants' quarter, which is surrounded by houses, and which were full of people even to the shores of the harbour. It was about two in the morning, when a man rose from bed, but in doing so he fell over the legs of a neighbouring sleeper, who, on being startled from his sleep, saw a person standing over him; so he shrieked out that the convicts had come to cut off his head. On this all the other sleepers rose in a fright, and ran tumbling one over the other, rising and falling, breaking their faces and bruising themselves on the stones, and four men falling into the river. Thus a great consternation arose, all opening their doors and bringing their weapons, which made the police peons run off. Some called out

that the Chinese were smoking; others cried out that three or four people had lost their heads, which were cut off by the convicts. The noise of the Klings was like thunder. Thus the night was one of wailing; some wept, some cried, till the Europeans came out to inquire into matters, when they found the originator, yet standing and calling out at the pitch of his voice that he was not a convict, so not to be afraid, but without effect, owing to the noise,—some saying that they had seen the convicts diving into the river and swimming across, others saying that they saw their long bill-hooks or knives. On this the Europeans appeared, who found the whole to be lies, but that the minds of the people had become mad, just as when people going through jungle and thick underwood are afraid at each breath or rustling lest it be a tiger.

Now, it is perfectly true that such rumours were not correct; yet people believed in them, people being afraid here and there, and nothing else was talked of but convicts. About a week after this, I received a letter from Malacca which my wife sent; and when I had opened the seal and saw the writing, I laughed to my heart's content, when I learnt that my wife was sitting in great tribulation and grief, under locked doors at night—for people had been telling her that the convicts were about to come to Malacca to take off heads, while others swore they had actually seen them, to the number of thirty or forty, bringing with them a barrel in which to store the heads; they having been ordered up by the authorities at Singapore to seek heads, as sufficient could not be had there. On this account people sat on the alert, none daring to go out at night, for here and there convicts had been seen lurking and carrying weapons; and, further, that children and old people had gone a-missing. So she beseeched me not

to go out at night-time; to take good care of myself, as there had not been heads enough got for the church. Further, that she had made another fastening to the door, to prevent the convicts from breaking in.

After I had read this foolish letter, I answered it at once, letting her know the whole affair from its origin, and I beseeched her not to believe the rumours in any manner, for they were lies from beginning to end—the Singapore people were mad. I then pointed out to her the excellent laws, customs, and regulations of the English, which were entirely adverse to such doings; neither did they believe in evil spirits, nor such dreams; and their disapproval of killing people without cause or trial. Moreover to get people to seek for heads, this was excessive foolishness and misfortune in those believing in such a story. I told her also to show my letter to her relations in the quarter, so that they might not be wretched and miserable without cause."

This would be a very diverting translation were it not at the same time most humiliating. This, after all the benevolent exertions of Sir Stamford Raffles, and of men of the Milne and Morrison stamp! Their beneficent, amiable, and just views had not entered into the souls of the natives, nor been appreciated in any manner whatever. That the European policy can be so misconceived, shows also on what a subsoil it rests. It is as it were placed upon a volcano or a magazine of powder, ready to blow up unawares, and from inexplicable causes. Such was the Indian Mutiny.

Abdulla's remarks are, on the whole, very sensible, though in them it is brought out that he was so far affected as to take trouble to make inquiries, nor in his

position could we blame him. His sly reflection on the pusillanimity of the police is amusing; these, of course, were his own brethren. His description of a night disturbance is excellent, though some of the phrases are not translatable.

In palliation of the panic of the natives, we must not forget that at this time, in a neighbouring island (Borneo), the powerful tribes of Sarebas and Sakarran went forth in thousands on head-hunting expeditions, for quasi-religious purposes; so the application of the same vice to the poor Church of England came natural enough to them, especially as that establishment was backed up by the grim devotees of Kali and Juggernaut, viz. the Bengal convicts who were set to watch the edifice. It is most strange what arrangements take place in India, and how incongruous are the elements brought not only in close juxtaposition, but even as allies to a holy cause. Thus I have seen an old Thug, who had taken a hundred lives, assisting the organist at divine service, he doing the *essential part*, the bellows-blowing.

Good Mrs. Abdulla, in the hubbub, was anxious for her husband's and her own safety; so she put an extra fastening to the door, though she was 120 miles away.

Abdulla says the white people do not believe in evil spirits, but I find in the late spiritist disturbances in Otago that the Calvinist clergy do. White men will not part with the devil, for more reasons than one. How Abdulla should have imbibed this opinion I do not know.

XXXVI.

HIS DAUGHTER'S DEATH.

"After all this affair had blown over, I returned to Malacca, as I learnt that my daughter, named Liti Lila, was unwell. When I arrived at Malacca, I found her very bad, and in two or three days' time it was the will of God over His slave that she should die. I was plunged into the deepest grief, and so was her mother, as I was very fond of the child, who was only seven years old. She had been well instructed, and had a clear understanding, with a heart full of affection to her parents : on this account I was strongly attached to her. After she had been buried at the Kling Mosque, I visited her grave daily in my grief, and one day while I was there, as had been my habit, her image appeared to my view. This was in the evening about half-past seven o'clock. I was alone, sitting at the grave weeping, when I saw my child playing on the sand. When I saw her I ran forward to embrace her, but I found nothing but sand. I then knew that the devil, in her image, intended to destroy me. On this I at once asked mercy of God, that he should relieve my grief and wailing for my child. I then returned to my house, to beseech my wife to wipe her tears and suspend her lamentations. I then informed her of the vision; when she begged at my feet some words of pure counsel to moderate her affliction.

Then, in furtherance of her wish, I thought over all the books that I could call to memory. If it had been for myself, I would not have undertaken the task, for I trusted to God alone to assuage my grief, but after the above request I betook myself to compose a little book, which I named in the Arabic, *Doah Alkalub,* which means in Malay, *Obat ati* (medicine for the heart). In it I dilated on the cases of children who have died young, and the honour, in the future state, to their parents, whose little children they were. How, therefore, improper is it of parents to nurse their grief and disconsolateness, and persevere in such a manner —with many other admonitions which I held forth for our edification.

After I had finished this book I read it to my wife, when then only she regained her usual equanimity, and forgot her grief for her child. The book is still in existence, and has been borrowed by many people who have lost children; further, twenties of people have copied it."

I made this translation with the more interest, as I remember, as it were like yesterday, Abdulla relating the circumstance to me. I no doubt pooh-poohed it, like most unthinking young Englishmen, so he found that he had in me no sympathy. Apparitions and their causes have been well studied by physiologists; I need not, therefore, enter into the subject here. But the story of Abdulla is affecting. He daily mourned over the grave of his lost child, when at dusk she appeared to him playing on the sand; he rushed forward to clasp her to his breast, when he found that she was not. She, with the sparkling eye and loving smile, he would have kissed

and fondled, but she had departed beyond his ken. Then comes actuality, with all its fierce truth, and with that, revulsion. In this he sees the worker of all evil, from which he flies to the God who gave him life. How would Christians have behaved? Each will answer in a different way. He puts on the man again, and does as his experiences had taught him.

To understand him to a certain extent, we must know the faith of the Mahomedans on the subject of the principle of evil, as they personify it. Lane informs us that the Mahomedans believe in three species of created intelligent beings, viz., angels of light, genii of fire, and men of earth. Some hold that the devils (sheytans) are distinct from angels and genii, but the most general opinion is that they are rebellious genii or jinn. Iblees, or the devil by some, was said to be sent as a governor upon the earth, and judged amongst the jinn for a thousand years; after which he ascended into heaven, and remained employed in worship until the creation of Adam. It is disputed whether he was of the angels. When the jinn rebelled against God on earth, Iblees, being elated with pride, refused to prostrate himself to Adam and Eve, so God transformed him into a sheytan. According to tradition, Iblees and the sheytans have longer existence than the jinn. Among the evil jinn there are five sons of Iblees: Taer, the causer of calamity; El-Aawar, of debauchery; Sot, of lies; Dasim, of hatred; Zeleemboor, of unfair dealings. The jinn have various shapes, such as those of serpents, scorpions, lions, wolves, jackals, etc., etc., prototypes of which, I may add, by way of parenthesis, may be seen in any illustrated work on John Bunyan; so the Mahomedans are not singular in their conceptions. Lane continues: "The jinn had not liberty to enter any of the seven heavens till the birth of Jesus, but Mahomed excluded

them from all. The devil's sphere now is to prowl amongst the markets, road crossings,—his holy book being poetry,* his alphabet geomancy, his speech falsehood, his snares —women!" But this gives a very limited idea of the mythology of the Arabs, who have other orders of jinn; such as ghools, sealahs, ghaddars, delhaus, shikks, nesnas, hatifs, etc., all of which have peculiar functions, and to which are ascribed various monstrous forms.

We have already seen that Abdulla had shaken off these superstitions; and, as far as I can see now, acknowledging only two powers—the principles of good and evil —to the former he clung, the latter he shunned. His admonitions appear to have had balm in them for his domestic hearth and amongst his neighbours. Here we have a glimpse of the inner man at the age of about forty.

* In the *Kiddah Annals*, his book is said there to be beautiful women.

XXXVII.

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES.—VOYAGE TO TRINGANU. —LOSS OF HIS WIFE.—BIBLE TRANSLATIONS, Etc.

"About this time news arrived in Malacca to the effect that a number of American missionaries had arrived in Singapore, who wished to learn Malay; so I was roused with a desire to return there, being curious to see the appearance of Americans—were they like the English, or like people of black skinned races, for I had never met with them. It is true that I had heard the name of America mentioned by the English, as being an island in far distant seas, where they sent their malefactors to, and through this means the population had increased. This is what I have been told by many Englishmen.

So, in four or five days' time, I sailed for Singapore. And during a walk one day, I went to call on an American missionary named Mr. Terisi (?); and when I saw him, I did not see the slightest difference in his appearance, language, manners, habitation, and clothes, from English. He was at this time stopping in the house of Missionary Thomsen, so I entered into conversation with him. I observed that his manners were soft and his conversation agreeable. He asked me where I came from, and my profession, which I informed him of, from the beginning to the ending. At this he told me that a

friend of his, by name North, was very desirous to find one who knew Malay, as he wished to study it; and as he was saying this, Mr. North entered. I noticed that he was also like an Englishman, without the slightest difference. So I now sat speaking to him. Mrs. Terisi (?) and Mrs. North then entered, both of whom, I saw, were like Englishwomen, of gentle manners and sweet expressions. Their conversation was in like manner, which made me pause and reflect on what I had been told to the contrary, by people above-mentioned. So, when it was settled, I commenced to teach Mr. North and his wife, as well as Mrs. Terisi (?)—this daily at their appointed hours.

Then on a certain day I was sitting talking to Mrs. Terisi (?), when I asked her about the origin of the country of America,—how it became so populous, and such like. So she told me that it was true that her ancestors were English, and of these there were four men good and God-serving, who were oppressed in England on the subject of religion; so they left it and searched for another place to live, which they found in America, which at that time was under high forest. There were also inhabitants, but these were like the Jakuns (wild men of the Malay Peninsula), and very fierce. After they had settled, they erected houses, villages, and plantations; after them others followed, till the place had become a country. The people of England then came to know this, when many of them emigrated, so that the country became populous. After this a war took place between America and England, as the Americans would not obey their orders, as they wished to put heavy duties and customs on them. This the Americans would not comply with, nor would they be dependent on their government. On this account a great war arose, till America was nearly overcome, but which was averted by

the strenuous exertions of a great American, called Washington,—through him America was not overpowered. On his account the Americans have a feast-day to the present time; this is on his birthday, yearly. Since then there has been no war. When I heard these affairs related, it appeared to me that her nation had suffered obloquy, so I now questioned what had previously been told me regarding convicts having been sent there; indeed, I pondered over the circumstances, when I came to the conclusion that it must of necessity have been the choice and the excellent of England who went forth to found America, and the reason of my saying this was, that if evil seed had been sown it would be impossible that good trees could have sprung from it. As the Malay proverb says, 'Does a tainted well produce clear water?' and, moreover, if its water is impure at first, so it will be afterwards; the moral of which is, that if the people who founded America were bad, their descendants would be bad also.

So I remained teaching this gentleman and his wife; and after this came others whom I also taught. Further, there arrived a Mr. and Mrs. Thompson, whom I also taught. All these gentlemen and ladies (*mim*) I taught at the direction of Mr. North. Then came a Mr. Terbili (?), whom I taught till he could speak Malay, read books, and translate a little from English into Malay. Yet all these, it must be stated, learnt the language superficially; but Mr. North studied it deeply, always striving to master the proper idiom, its phonology, its proverbs, examples, reasonings, and arguments, as used by the Malays themselves. He also collected the books, histories, poems, and *pantuns* of the language. Owing to this circumstance, in my estimation he mightily excelled all the others; and another reason also may be stated—that most of them after learning a little sailed for other countries,

but Mr. North from the first has remained till now. He has composed a great deal in Malay on the sciences of Europe, stories of distinguished people, the activity of Europeans, and their influence over the world; also regarding the description of the firmament and its creation, the invention of steamships and railways, the making of gas, the river navigation of America, the uses of steam, the mode of whale fisheries, scientific discourses, and inventions of Europe, with teachings how the Malays may follow and master such like acquisitions.

I was thus in the employ of Messrs. North and Terbili for some years, going and returning to Malacca, when one year I went to Pahang Tringanu and Kalantan, being in charge of a letter from Mr. Bonham to the Raja of Kalatan, when two sketches were sent with me, one belonging to Mr. Scott, called 'Maggy Lauder,' the other to Mr. Boustead, called 'Waterwitch,'—but I need not dilate on this, but if any one wants to know the account of my trip, I have written it, from the date I left Singapore till I returned in safety, and which has been made a book of by Mr. North, one page being in Jawi characters, the other in English, but in the Malay language, and which I named *Kaseh Pelayeran Abdulla.* And whoever wishes to see the book, it is with Mr. North, who sells it at a fair price; and if you, O reader, peruse the work, you will of course understand the manners and doings of Malay rajas, and their people's condition, into which subject I have fully entered.

After I had returned from Pahang Tringanu and Kalantan, I went to Malacca, as I heard that my wife and children were in a great state of consternation. For they had heard various rumours; some people telling them that I had been taken off by pirates, others that I had been killed in the wars at Kalantan, and such

stuff and nonsense. Thus all were sitting in grief. At length, when I came to them, various Klings, relations, and friends assembled to hear the news, when I read them my account of the voyage, at which they were much astonished when they heard of the customs, manners, and laws of the Malay rajas.

I remained a short time in Malacca and then returned to Singapore, when I learnt that Mr. North had removed to Campong Boyan, where I continued to teach and to write. In that house he and I revised the Gospel of St. John, for in the former translation there were many improper Malay phrases and many errors, so we revised it entirely. We also set to to print copies of the *Sigara Malayan*, besides other duties, and while thus engaged I fell sick of remittent fever; in it I got weaker daily, and my body became emaciated. I was, further, in a great state of grief, as, being in a strange land, there was no one to attend to my food and drink, or medicine. Thus I felt more sore at heart. My disease now increased so much that I could not bear the smell of food, nor could I sleep. My thoughts were, that should I die, let it be in the presence of my wife and children. At this crisis Mr. North came with medicine, which he ordered me to take; but I told him that I could not get well again in my present situation, as I had no one to look after me, so I hoped he would allow me to return to Malacca, and, if it be God's grace that I should get well, I would return quickly to him. When I said this he replied, 'How are you to return, as I have a great deal for you to do, which will be put off?' I then said, 'Of what use am I here, in sickness? Let me go, that I may be doctored comfortably.' To this he replied, 'Very good, as it is your wish.'

So on that very day I went on board a prow for Malacca in my fever, and as I was three days at sea, exposed to

the winds and the rain, I fell ill all the worse, and by the time I got to Malacca I had lost my senses, the fever was so virulent. I was then carried to my house, where many people assembled to give me all kinds of medicine, when I came to my senses; but yet I was very sick, neither being able to eat nor to drink, so I felt myself to be dying this time. I was now at times insensible from the strength of the fever, when, about three in the morning, I asked my wife to give me ink, pen, and paper. At this my wife began to cry, thinking I was going to die. Then with a shaky hand I wrote out my will, giving all my claims, house, and furniture in trust to two persons, who were, after my death, to guard my effects as related in the will. After I had finished writing, I put it into my wife's hands. By this time it was daylight, and I now felt unfit to think, my body was so hot, and my hair had become long from want of shaving. So I asked that my head might be shaved; but they would not allow it, but to wait the *bantun*, for the *bantun* was very strong. But I said, 'If I die, yet let me be shaved;' so in this state they shaved me. After this I felt a little relief in my body; my eyes were now heavy and I slept a little, yet they were full of fear; but, by the goodness of God, my time had not come, and I betimes improved a little, and in about three or four months I got well, God giving me respite.

After I had got well my wife fell ill, as she was about to bear, and she got no sleep; when on the morning of Friday, at half-past five o'clock, on the sixth day of the month Rabeh Alawal, in the year of the Hejira 1259 (A.D. 1843), her child—a son—saw the light; and in the midst it became evident that the will of God was on her, when she left a changing country for a country that has no change, to receive the recompense of martyrs. I yet feel unable to describe, relate, or write down the circum-

stances in my story—my grief, misery, and heaviness of heart have been so excessive, like an elephant cast on a rock and dashed to pieces. The feeling of my heart is as this—while people are drowned at sea, I am drowned on dry land,—so long had I, by the pardon of God, been living in enjoyment. But in a moment I was left like the fowl whose chickens are snatched from her sight by the vulture, and my grief was the heavier, seeing my children wailing and crying for their mother, scattered about as chickens that have lost theirs. My house was in disorder, like a country without a government, all doing as they liked. Worse than all, the newly-born child was crying for want of milk; my furniture and effects were meagre, so my poverty was disclosed to the eyes of strangers: the glory of my house indeed had departed. I was thus steeped the deeper in sorrow and despondency; the world became dark, the clouds gloomed, and the rains descended—yes, descended in volumes. I then recalled her words, which were, 'O God, I trust in Thee to the fulness of my heart, the Lord, who teaches me in His kindness.' So, by the grace of God, He will take care of us till that day which most certainly will come, viz. the resurrection of all mankind.

We then buried her in the afternoon, at three o'clock, in the Kling Mosque at the Balli Maharah, and I returned to my house, my heart's sickness yet living; yet I tried, with prayers to God, to alleviate my sorrows, so that He might sweep them from my heart—my remembrance and my great grief. For, if it had not been by God's help, to a certainty I would have fallen into the snares set for me by the devil: he had wounded me and I recovered, but the scar remained. But I now had a feeling of intense loathing to remain in my former house, owing to seeing this and seeing that, which called things to my memory and their recollections; so, after

ten days, I felt myself to be pining, and my senses to be adrift. I then communed with myself, and saw that it was improper for me to remain listless in this manner. So I concluded to sell my goods and furniture and leave all, so as to heal my heart, with the intention of taking my children to the Straits of Singapore. On this being decided, I collected my things on the morrow, and in a few days had them all sold by auction. I then waited to collect my debts, and my house I left in the agency of my uncle; and I then sailed to Singapore, where I could seek a house suitable for my residence. When we arrived at Singapore, I met a friend who was both mindful and loving, and who carried me to Campong Malacca on this side, under the Government hill. I then sent a letter to Malacca, to fetch my family and their nurse; so they betimes arrived. I remained for some time in my friend's house, when I erected one for myself near his, as all are Malacca people there.

After this I was constantly engaged in writing and in teaching Mr. North; and, besides this, I taught Mr. Missionary Keasberry, copying also books from English into Malay, such as books of prayers and such like; further, the story of Henry and his Nurse, the Creation and Existence of the World, the Firmament of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and such like; also another work on the Birth of Jesus, and a great many other little pamphlets.

While thus engaged, Missionary Stronock called me to assist him in correcting the gospels that had been translated by Missionary Thomsen, as they were full of errors as well as blunders in the text, and improprieties of idiom. All this came of obstinacy and want of experience in Mr. Thomsen, so I gave effect to the wishes of Mr. Stronock. We commenced as if the work had never been done; for he was a good Greek scholar, and also

understood Malay, as well as Chinese; and more especially did he understand his own language well (English), not to mention many books which he gave me by way of assistance, having the authority of men versed in the meanings and intentions of the words and phrases. By this means great difficulties were removed from the students, and especially those who have to compose for themselves in Malay. But even with all this there remained a few false phrases for Mr. Stronock to delete,—such words as these: *kreja-an, mulut Allah, anak Allah, iang ada de shurga, kahidup-an iang kakal,* and so forth. I was dissatisfied owing to this, for they are neither words nor phrases used in the Malay language, and are therefore disagreeable to the ear of the Malay. So, O reader, they should be corrected, if there be the veriest possibility, so as to have the true Malay idiom replaced—that is, if the above gentlemen would allow it, to wit, Messrs. Stronock and North; if they do not, then the fault is not mine. So, in time to come, let not people call me a blockhead, as not knowing the true Malay idiom; for I have often felt it through the obstinacy of Mr. *Thomsen* in his translations, wherein what was not Malay idiom has been in use till now,—and yet I am called his *guru* (preceptor)! But the truth is he would not use the phrases of his *guru,* he would bathe alone, and this is the consequence—by this people upbraid me. I am thus afraid of myself to be in the same dilemma twice. As the Malay proverb says, 'The moose-deer may forget the trap, but the trap does not forget the moose-deer.'

On a certain day I went to teach Mr. Keasberry, when he showed me a contrivance made of a plate of copper about two spans long and a little more than a span in breadth, and on this copper plate there were portraits or views of places in Singapore, but some rising and sinking; and when I saw their shadows—they were like nature—I

was astonished at them with great wonder. So I asked, 'What contrivance is this, and who was its artificer?' when he told me that it was a new invention by Europeans, and that one was on board the American ship of war, belonging to the doctor, who had all the appliances; but that he could not explain all, as he had not seen it before, but that the owner had promised to show it on Monday next. I was rejoiced at this, as I could see it at the same time.

So on Monday, when I went to teach him at about noon, the gentleman arrived, and was received by Mr. Keasberry, who introduced me to the doctor as his *guru* (native instructor); so I shook hands with him and talked over the news, when Mr. Keasberry told him that I was very anxious to see the invention and how pictures were made by it. So he told us that I could do so, telling us to follow him to the top of the hill of Mr. Bonham, as the apparatus was there. So Mr. Keasberry arose to call Mr. Stronock, telling me to go and wait for them on the hill, and that they would follow; so I went, and they soon made up to me. We then noticed that the doctor went into a room from whence he got out a box with a spyglass through it, the glasses being about the size of a farthing. There were also one or two glasses inside, which magnified all within its compass. And on one side of the box there was a shutter, when he went and got a plate of copper about the size before mentioned, brightened like a looking-glass. There was also another box filled with a black powder, over which he set the plate, at a little distance, which had been rubbed, when in about ten minutes he lifted it, and it now had the colour of gold. He now carried the plate to the box with the telescope, and inserted it by the side, and pointed towards the scene he wished to have taken: thus the rays all entered into the place

through the telescope. He now said, 'If the sun is clear and hot the thing is done at once, but otherwise it is done slowly.' He now took out the plate, but we saw nothing on it, so he took it away and washed it with a kind of *medicine* (chemicals). Then there was like as if vital heat was in the box. He then took the plate to a vessel filled with spirit, and put the plate on it, at a distance of about a span; then below the spirit vessel he put a lamp, which he lit till the spirit was hot. This he allowed for a certain time. On this the steam rose to the plate, when the *medicine* (chemicals) which had been put on the plate displayed the light and shades. Then, when the time was up, he lifted the plate off, when at once we saw a picture of Singapore fixed to the plate exact to nature, in all its beauty. And as to the plate on which the picture was fixed, he put it in front, on which was all the landscape without flaw, and with the greatest ease.

I now asked the gentleman if he could make them larger; to which he replied he could, as big as I liked; but this depended on the apparatus—if it were large, the pictures would be so likewise. He also told me that the inventor of so wonderful a machine was a Frenchman, which the English had copied, and other Europeans after them, and that so clever an invention had been only known for four or five years.

Again, in the year of the Hejira 1252, on the 15th day of the month Jumada-l-Oola, *i.e.* on the 3rd August, in the year of the Messiah 1841, at this time I was invited by many courteous and respectable English gentlemen living in Singapore to go and see a large steamship that had lately arrived, whose name was *Sesostris*, carrying a great man, a plenipotentiary (punopetenshry), on his way to relieve Captain Elliot in China, who was agent for the English Company in the affairs of England and

China. So I went along with them; and when I saw the ship, my joints and limbs were full of wonder at the contrivances and skill given by God to mankind in His care. After I had satisfied myself in looking over the ship and various wonders attached to it, we all descended to the *sampan* (native boat), I sitting in front thinking over all I had seen. On this a gentleman called out to me to compose an account of it in the Malay language, to let the Malays know. At this I gaped wide, saying, 'By God's grace, how can I commence such a work? It makes my breath go and my limbs shake to hear my friend's request, for I am not competent; but by the help of God I will write down an account of all that I saw, heard, and felt from beginning to end, rightly or wrongly.' When I had done this, it was printed by Mr. Alfred North in a little book about the thickness of one's thumb, with such additions regarding steam and the origin of its application; and should any one feel a desire to see it, without fail Mr. Alfred North will let them have a copy."

The remarks of our autobiographer on the Americans are truly arcadian, and it strikes me that they are somewhat affected, as so intelligent a nature could not have but observed the numerous American ships and sailors that frequented the harbour of Singapore. The Southern States of America, such as Maryland and Virginia, etc., were no doubt penal ones, but the missionaries were apparently from the north. With all the false information previously instilled into him, Abdulla's surprise must have been agreeable on meeting such a refined and accomplished people. It must be noticed that Abdulla's strongest impressions would be when he was most apt to receive them, and this would be when

the bitter war of 1812 was raging between the two kindred peoples.

In the account of primeval America, the term Jakun as representing the American Indians is well chosen to save Abdulla's own feelings, though between the two races there is little of resemblance; the Jakuns being particularly mild, retiring, and timid. The subject of convicts would, no doubt, be a disagreeable one to his new friends, and they seem to have eluded it by giving part of the history of their own States only. Bombay is to the Malay what Botany Bay is to the English, or what the American plantations were; yet no intelligent person, European or Asiatic, would brand all inhabitants of these countries with convictism. Abdulla's remarks show how slow false impressions are got rid of, and his solution of the difficulty is admirable. It is pleasant to see how high an admiration he conceived for Mr. Alfred North, a gentleman I have often seen, but never had the pleasure of speaking to,—he, of all Abdulla's *disciples*, seems to have acquitted himself best to the native *guru's* satisfaction.

It is at the same time disagreeable to consider that the missionary tactics of Protestantism, when opposed to other subtle faiths, are not calculated to dive into native sympathies. Nor is this the fault of Protestantism. Its very purity and excellence makes it jar with native bias and propensities; they therefore either reject it or remain perfectly obtuse and indifferent. As long as Protestant missionaries marry * their own countrywomen, and avoid connection with the inner households of the natives, for whose interests, spiritual and temporal, they essay to give up all, there is only one course open to them, and that course they have invariably adopted.

* The Romanists have the total abstainer's excuse to escape the accusation of unsociality and want of real interest.

They have practically taught Materialism, and little of faith. Of this teaching we have inadvertently, on the part of our autobiographer, a lucid exemplification, and its ultimate results on the native mind I question.

His voyage along the east coast of the Malay Peninsula was not without its dangers from pirates, the formidable Illanuns being then rife, till squashed by Congelton. I have not seen the copy of the *Sijara Malaya* printed by North, mine being a manuscript one, containing thirty-eight annals. Dr. Leyden's copy appears to have had only thirty-three.

During Abdulla's illness Mr. North appears to have acted somewhat selfishly; or was Abdulla only extolling his own usefulness, and thus bringing a reflection unconsciously on his friend?

His own death-scene is admirably drawn: pen, ink, and paper to the last, habit is second nature. And how alarmed was his wife at the sight of them! The description shows how a Mahomedan can die. Are the highly-wrought up and gloomy pictures of our own clergy of death altogether honest? May not moral torture be as horrible as the application of the rack? And how many are there not who are addicted to this, in the supposed interests of their various sects, and gentlewomen probably more so than others. O Christian, let thy deathbed be soothed alone by thine own thoughts, and not disturbed by the false declamations of others of God's *unmercy!*

But at the age of forty-six our autobiographer was to lose his life companion, in whom he delighted, and we read with respect the tender remarks on the affliction. There was no mock sorrow here. The simile used of drowning on dry land is a forcible one, and expressive of protracted sorrow and suffering till death should deliver him also. The sentiments are worthy of the highest of

our race, and proclaim that Eastern peoples also have a household guarded by love, morality, and honour. His lamentations now vie in sublimity with those of Job. Both were Eastern, and hence the similarity of expression. In his after doings he pursues the path of a mind weighted by bereavement, and at length seeks alleviation by change of scene.

On returning to his duties with the missionaries, he assisted them in compiling books of prayer, the "Life of Jesus," and other religious publications. For a professing Mahomedan to do this often struck the Europeans, as well as natives, as being inconsistent, and I, amongst others, entered into conversation with him on the point. To my questions he had full and ready answers, and the following will give some idea of the position he assumed:— He held that the labours of the missionaries were unquestionably devoted to good works, and for this cause alone would he be an earnest helper, more especially as his convictions had much in common. Further, that it was consistent with his religion to believe that Christ was the greatest of the prophets, though Mahomed was the last. Turning to the translation of the New Testament in which he assisted, he would open it at the sermon on the mount, and read several verses, such as— "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled." "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." "And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell." "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." "Love your enemies, and bless them that curse you." He would add, "This teaching was truly directed

by God, because it is above men's power." Then, turning to the thirteenth chapter, 1st Corinthians, he would read, "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing," etc. He would conclude by remarking, "Here we acknowledge that to be most beautiful which we so little practise, because the one is God-like and the other man-like. Here, and generally, then, I believe in the inspiration of the New Testament; but there are parts where the last prophet has given us a new dispensation. For instance, turning to Romans viii. 14, 17, it says, 'For as many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God. And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ.' And again, in Galatians iii. 26, 'For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus.' This makes man a part of the Divine essence, which is contrary to our doctrines—mankind being one species of the created intelligent beings, which are angels, genii, and men; man being of earth, and, with the others, a mere creature or slave. Then, turning to Romans vi. 23, we find this said, 'For the wages of sin is death: but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.' Now, we do not believe that the soul dies, but that it is punished hereafter; we believe that there will be a general resurrection and judgment, with rewards and punishments—the former being eternal, the latter not eternal, but for a time, according to guilt. Again, turning to St. John i. 1, 14, 17, we have, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld His glory, the glory as of

the only begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth. For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.' Again, iii. 16, 'For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' This makes Christ the Son of God, while we only believe Him to be a prophet; indeed, the greatest of prophets. The initial point of our belief is, in fact, this: 'There is no Deity but God. Mahomed is God's apostle.'"

To this I replied that a sect of Christians held the same belief, rejecting Mahomed, and that there was once a great schism in the Church on the same subject, called the Arian heresy. I added that the modern sect of Unitarian Christians had rationalistic tendencies, and thus unduly ignored faith, but that, in my judgment, to ignore the latter was impossible; for, however far the sphere of reason extended, yet the unexplored regions of faith outreached it, man's capacity being limited. On this the following dialogue ensued. The Trinity had evidently been a frequent subject of discussion between him and the missionaries and their helpers.

He. It requires little reason to see that it would be utterly impossible that a mere man could be equal to the Creator of the universe.

I. As possible as that Mahomed could be the sole mouthpiece of God to the whole universe.

He. Mahomed was God's prophet only.

I. Christ was God's son only: by faith we see this.

He. But how can you compress what is equal to all creation into a mere atom of existence?

I. How can you compress the whole landscape before us of Johore, Bulang, and all the islands of the Straits, with the merchants' houses, with that little eye of yours? It is through that eye you see them all; so it is through

Christ's spirit we see God. To you there would be no landscape without the little eye. But, more wonderful to tell, it is only by the pencils of light passing through an infinitely small focus that you see these extensive objects, reaching even to the stars; and again, were the focus not infinitely small, the landscape and the sky beyond would be but a hazy mass, without form and void. Thus you see an infinitely great through what is infinitely small, paradoxical as this may appear. Christ, the man, was therefore as the motamentum of time, or the focus of sight; it is His spirit that lives, and suffuses the world to all eternity.

He. You diverge to one of the least difficulties; how in all reason can one equal three, and three one?

I. An apparent paradox, but reducible by science and logic.

He. How?

I. Let us begin at the foundation then. Can you prove that there is a God?

He. That is so apparent it requires no argument.

I. Agreed. Then God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth.

He. God is without beginning or end, the sole Creator and Lord of the universe, having absolute power and knowledge, and glory and perfection.

I. Agreed. But there are three persons in the Godhead: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

He. I deny this.

I. But you believe in a God, who is eternal; so also you must believe the other.

He. How?

I. To us the Trinity in Unity is proved in various parts of our Bible, which I need not quote to you as a Mahomedan, only to say that this principle is given:

that the Son was of the Father, and the Holy Ghost followed both. (See St. John xiv. 16, 26.) Now take God in any of His attributes—for we can only reach Him through these—say, of eternal time, almightiness, omniscience, glory, or perfection.

He. Well, take eternal time.

I. Good. Then you will admit that one eternal time includes time before, time present, and time after; time before eternal, time present eternal, time after eternal; time before from infinite ages, time after to infinite ages, time present of no duration; always flitting yet ever present, from the no beginning of time before to the no ending of time after; one time infinite, yet three infinites; time present, as the Son, infinitely small, yet through whom or which alone we can perceive time before, or the attributes of the Father, from infinite ages, and time after, or the attributes of the Holy Ghost, to infinite ages. Also, because time present has no duration, so time before and time after are one and the same time. So likewise take any other eternal attributes of God, such as unchangeableness, wisdom, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth. All these, being eternal from all time to all time, have three heads, or else there was no time and no God. The result is inevitable.

But to be more precise, let us take such parts as are necessary to our argument from the most rigid of the Creeds, viz., that of Athanasius:—

The Catholick faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity.

There is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost.

But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.

The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal.

And yet they are not three eternals: but one eternal.

So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

And in this Trinity none is afore, nor after other: none is greater, or less than another.

The belief, therefore, in the Unity of a God existing to all time leads, perforce, to the belief in a Trinity in Unity. And take any of the other attributes, say power or glory,—omnipotent and everlasting power must have power before, power present, power after; the power present apparent, but infinitely minute, yet ever present, so co-equal with the other two, and so it is in the same manner with glory. Thus, take the attributes of God as respects their omnipresence, we have glory external, glory internal, and glory apparent through the infinitely minute junction of the two; and yet not three glories, but one glory.

But it was easy to be seen that he had not followed me in my argument; his gaze, usually intelligent and bright, was stolid and vacant. It was evident here that reason, such as it was, would not do it; feeling might move him, but this even would have to be supported by self-interest: such is human nature as we find it.*

I would then ask him what became of unbelievers. To this he would reply, that the reply of the Imaums (priests) would be that they would go to hell; but amongst laymen, such as himself, opinions were very various, according to constitution, education, and disposition. For himself, he had seen too much good in the holders of other faiths to condemn them. "For instance, it would be absurd to say that the Revs. Dr. Morrison and Milne went to hell because they did

* It is to be here remarked that I had many conversations on those subjects, and I only pretend to give the tenor of them to the best of my recollection.

not believe in Mahomed; but the priesthood and women will not agree to my sentiments, nor dare I press them amongst my own co-religionists. They are fenced about by a boundary of ignorance, which I have passed through. This, they say, has undermined my faith; yet you know I adhere to it only with conditions of greater humanity, greater preception of the great goodness of the Almighty, creator of heaven and earth, and all creatures and things. I thus the more appreciate His all-seeing love and benevolent justice. If we look into the garden, we see the rose, the lily, the daisy, the primrose, the violet, and other flowers, all with their various shades, colours, forms, and aromas; then why should the rose say that the lily and other plants went to hell because they differed from it, when really it is their very variety that makes this earth a paradise, and enables man to rejoice in it? God made this variety, so he rejoices in all. So I let them have their say, and hold my own opinion, though I cannot be so free to them as I am to you. In fact, women are made up of soft love and sentiment in equal proportions, and men of hard facts and experience; and when nature divided humanity into two sexes, her plan was eccentric, for she overweighted the balance of capacity and understanding on man's side two-tenths. In order to put things right again, she has been forced to extract the priesthood from the male side, and hence the Levitical Law of giving one-tenth to this order. And," he added, "it would be well if this would content them." "Then," said I, "you feel in your religion a sort of compact between the priests and women against the men." "Yes," said he, "this is only too observable, and we sometimes kick against their government, but it is all to no purpose; they together always carry the day, in the long run; When a man gets sick, then is the woman's chance to

manage and to take it out of him—and the priest's, too," he added, with a gasp. "That comes of your priests and women not being so humane as ours," said I. "Perhaps," I added after a pause, "your system of polygamy may have something to do with this state of affairs." "If you tell the truth," he retorted, "it is the same with yourselves; polygamy is the most benign of institutions, more favourable to the woman than to the man. In Mahomedan countries no woman will be without a legal protector sanctioned by her religion. In Christian countries I am told the reverse is the case, and that not thousands, nor tens of thousands, but hundreds of thousands of depraved women strew the streets. Your law gives no rights to the woman: ours is most careful in protecting her property, and vesting it in her." "It may be a choice between two evils, after all," I suggested: "sanctity to the private family, against the profanation of the public thoroughfares." "Judge for yourself," said he, "and take for your example the streets of Singapore, whose government is a Christian one. Has it never struck you how many miserable squalid women, and men too, sit moping at the corners, and lie in the open verandahs, absolutely rotting by inches; the flesh dropping from their faces, and their very bones rotting? Yet you would go against a system of social economy that would ameliorate, if not entirely do away with such a state of things." "And generate even worse, a crime unmentionable," added I, by way of argument. "Then cut that people from off the face of the earth!" cried he, with vehemence.

Thus the conversation could go on no longer in such a strain. It was a war of principles, in which there could be no compromise; as the sirocco against the north wind, one must bear the other down.

And we are now led on to the next subject, his wrang-

lings with the Christian missionaries ; and here we perceive that it was not altogether in respect to the correction of the Malay language and literature that these contentions took place, and hence the necessity, if missionary effort is to be continued in that direction, that any translation of the Scriptures should only be intrusted to a competent native Christian, acquainted with the genius of the people and their peculiarities of expression. There are refined turns of words and sentences in all languages, indicating certain meanings, which none but natives can detect or explain.* Thus we see Abdulla objecting to the expression *mulut Allah*, *i.e.* the mouth of God. He, as a Mahomedan, ignoring the Divine essence in man, would think it too absurd to attribute a part of a man or a beast to God, and so would not allow even of the figure of speech. Here, then, there was no quarrel of grammar, but a quarrel of religion! Again, this is more seen in the expression *anak Allah*, *i.e.* the Son of God. He, as a Mahomedan, would never admit that God had a son. Again, *iang ada de shurga*, *i.e.* who is in heaven. This would be quite an unmeaning phrase to him, whose ideas of heaven are as follows :—That there are seven of them; the first formed of emerald, the second of white silver, the third of pearls, the fourth of ruby, the fifth of red gold, the sixth of yellow jacinth, and the seventh of shining light. Some assert that paradise is in the seventh heaven, which consists of seven stages, one above another; the first the mansion of glory, the second the mansion of peace, the third the garden of rest, the fourth the garden of eternity, the fifth the garden of delight, the sixth the garden of paradise, and the seventh

* As, for instance, during our occupation of Java, an order was sent to a Dutch official to suspend a defaulter, and he actually went and hung him—*suspend* in the dictionary meaning to hang.

the garden of perpetual abode, or Eden. So also, in regard to hell, he would believe that there are seven stories of earths: the occupants of the first being men, genii, and brutes; the second occupied by a suffocating wind, the third by the stones of hell, the fourth by sulphur, the fifth by serpents, the sixth by scorpions, and the seventh by the devil and his troops, or imps.* Thus heaven and hell would have to him different significations to those generally accepted by Christians, and his rendering of the English into Malay would not convey the meaning of his employers. Consequently he gave in to such learned men as North and Stronock with reluctance.

And here I may remark on another objection in the employment of Arabic terms in a Christian Bible, as not conveying the meaning intended, and thus doing an injury to the cause whose interests are at stake. For instance, God is translated into *Allah,* which I have shown above is not the Being intended by Christians, but that intended by Arabs, who hold that He does not suffuse His essence in man. Further, it is not the primitive term, which amongst the Orang Benua, or original Malays, is Periman; nor is it that which would precede Mahomedanism, which would be Hindoo, viz. Khoda. Thus, in translating a Christian Bible, would it not have been better to have used the word God? On the same principle, Abdulla himself admitted that it was better to render John the Baptist as near as the Malay tongue would allow, viz. Jahiah Baptista, as the language has no term for the name. Again, Holy Ghost is rendered *Ruhu-l-kudus;* angels, *malaikat;* devil, *Iblees;* heaven, *shurga;* hell, *jehenam,* or the Hindoo *naraka.* Now, all these have a different meaning placed on them to what Christians are accustomed, so if the

* See Lane.

Malay had not analogous words, why go to Arabic or Hindoo for words with wrong conceptions attached to them? Again, why should in such cases the English words not have been used, as was the case in the translations of the Latin and Greek originals into English? Here, then, in a very material point, have the missionaries been misled by the employment of a Mahomedan *guru.* The safest course would have been not to have attempted translations till a Christian *guru* had been secured for the work. But I find no fault with Abdulla for this; I believe he did his best according to his light, and that he was sincerely desirous to do his best conscientiously.

But the Malay is now written in the Jawi or mixed Arabic characters; no doubt it is, or has been, written in one of the Hindoo or Javanese alphabets also. Its system of orthography, besides being very imperfect, as will be seen by reference to Appendix III., is also very unsettled. For instance, in comparing the *Malay Annals* with Marsden, whose *guru* was Abdulla's father, we find the following discrepancies, amongst many others, in common words:—

	Malay Annals.	Marsden's Dictionary.
Adil	عاديل	عادل
Ulih	اوليه	اوله
Bulih	بوليه	بوله
Paduka	فدک	فدوك
Lagi	لايک	لاڭي
Baginia	بڭيت	باكيت
Ṗergi	فرڭ	فرڭ
Pahang	فهڠ	فاهڠ

Further, it is only one in a thousand of the popula-

tion who can read in the above character, as Abdulla himself informs us. Then why not use the Roman alphabet, which is so much its superior in every respect, so easily acquired by youths, and therefore so apt to be adopted, being also the letters of the ruling race? To teach the Jawi is, in fact, neither more nor less than aiding the propagation of Arabic literature, and with it Arabic religion and influence,—this at the expense of British Christians, the supporters of the London Mission Society.

To so intelligent and inquiring a mind as that of Abdulla, the visit to the steamship must have been full of interest. I remember seeing his little book upon it. What has not science done since then? Steam is a dispersive power, and how is it not dispersing mankind all over the world, melting down even national prejudices, and mixing together the most virulently opponent sects, colours, and races. It also seems to have its mission, and its effects on the social systems will from year to year become more apparent.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

From the translations we may gather some inklings of the feelings and ideas of a Mahomedan native of India, of the more advanced type. His co-religionists number probably about 30,000,000; so perforce of this, as well as the intrinsic merit of his opinions, they are deserving of careful and candid consideration. There are very many wealthy Mahomedans in India, but Abdulla was not of these, his bias being a literary one,—riches for their own sake appeared to be of little consequence in his eyes. Yet from this very fact he was in a position to comment on matters openly as he found them. It will be seen that he equally animadverts on the faults of European and native rulers, the former for their avarice, the latter for their lasciviousness. In his latter years he rises almost to the standard of a prophet.

While he remained attached to the faith of his ancestors, it is plainly apparent that knowledge of another religious system had broken down his prejudices, nay, even had enlisted his sympathies. On this account he had incurred the displeasure of his neighbours for latitudinarianism.

In early youth we see him drinking from the fountain of knowledge and good morals supplied by the pioneer members of the London Mission Society at Malacca, and in early manhood his close contact with a mind

like that of Sir Stamford Raffles had inculcated humanity in its most benign phases; and thus he went on through the labours of life buoyantly for the most part, supported by his love of letters, and working in the peculiar departments intrusted to him. He seemed never to be desirous of undue gain—neglecting the future; as he expresses himself, never catching water while the rain poured. Yet we see him hopeful and energetic to the last, though his gains in the best period of his life would not exceed £150 a year, and latterly, probably not £60. Yet of such men are, politically, the most important section of our Indian fellow-subjects composed. I have known Hindoos of very much the same cast of mind, whose good qualities it is the part of a beneficent government to nurture, that the bad, forbidding, and inhumane may be subdued. No doubt their co-religionists are by far the greatest part sunk in superstition and ignorance. This fact the more tends to increase the power and influence of the intelligent—a power and influence that no Christian or European could presume to hold. Hence the vast mass of natives can only be moved at second-hand.

European governments, in subduing tropical peoples, have the climate against them. The people themselves may be humble, obedient, and teachable; but the European agency, labouring in a climate subversive of their health and constitutions, is necessarily very costly. Thus we see strong contrasts of position—the natives subsisting on mere pittances; the Europeans requiring all luxuries, and means to obtain them, to support their energy and efficiency. This cannot but be a source of dissatisfaction to the governed; and we see Abdulla slightly touches on this point, though, as he wrote for the information of Europeans as well as for natives, his remarks are cautious and unobstrusive.

Again, there are the differences of colour, constitution, and moral and physical nature in the two peoples brought together; the two governments with which Abdulla came in contact, viz. the English and the Dutch, being virtually democratic, while the natives of the tropics tend to autocracy or a patriarchical system. Further, the agents of these governments, in the shape of the servants of the East India Companies, were, more especially in their early periods, derived from an extreme levelling stratum of society, viz. city tradesmen. Thus we have instances of utter callousness to the habits, prejudices, and time-honoured institutions of their tropical subjects. The case of the Dutch burying the remains of Raja Hajie (if true) in a pig-sty is one instance; that of the Resident of Singapore breaking down the walls of the Sultan's court, passing streets through it, and jostling the corners of the very mosque, is another. These acts of privileged sons of grocers and tea-dealers contrast badly with the eminent grace, condescension, and delicate urbanity of English genius in its highest phase, as noticed by Abdulla in the act of a member of the upper stratum of the nation, viz. Lord Minto. To a people whose social and political proclivities are in favour of princely government, the doings of the former were obnoxious in the extreme, and calculated to call forth their inward execrations; while the doings of the latter had the most benign result on the affections of the people, and which even to this day are remembered and recounted.

Again, the moral standards of a tropical people are precisely the opposite to our own in regard to slavery and polygamy. The differences are irreconcilable and never to be fully adjusted, whâtever mutual concession may do. On these subjects their nervous system is less delicately strung, so they do not see as we see. And here we see how apt the tropical native is in apparent con-

cession to the bent of his master, though he irrevocably reserves his own judgment. This is characteristically shown in Abdulla's account of the Singapore slave trade (which is supposed to be repressed). Whether his account is in good faith or in irony, it is difficult to decide, his words and sentences are so well balanced. Yet the result of that trade he demonstrates most clearly to have been most advantageous to the subjects themselves; they, in his account, having obtained by their transportation much more favourable settlements than they could have ever expected in their native homes. And here an old rule of philosophy tells the cause. That which is vacant must be replenished: nature abhors a vacuum. Women were the most crying want of a settlement composed almost entirely of males, and trade alleviated the want in its own rude, unfeeling, and mercenary way; but evil is always balanced by good, so good came out of evil.

When people do not and will not work for wages, it is impossible to convince the stronger or more powerful that they must go without forced help from the males, or forced compliance with their desires from the females. No doubt it is very wrong in European eyes; but we state facts as they are, and not as they ought to be in our notions. Here, again, we revert to Abdulla's lifelike description of one of the dilemmas occasioned by the encounter of opposite sentiments, and we also perceive that his words are so well chosen, that his sarcasm can only be detected by the experienced. In this case, the Malay Sultan, relying on the faith of the promise of his white friends, had remained in the territory he had made over to the British. On this the females of his harem bolt from him, and he applies to the Resident to send them back. To native ideas, nothing would have been more proper than that this should be effected. But no; his Majesty is bluffly told that on British soil his harem

is free. And in the result as related, we see the sarcasm of our autobiographer, who tells us that some went to the policemen, some to the Europeans, hither and thither, where they could get maintenance. Hence, the moral objects of the regenerating Resident were defeated; for libertinism, which had previously been confined within the four walls of the palace, was now allowed to run wild and rampant all over the settlement. It is in such a manner that the measures of temporal and spiritual regenerators miscarry, in ways utterly unforeseen, and by devious courses unpremeditated.

And, considering the mighty efforts of England in the suppression of the slave trade of Africa, have the results been satisfactory? This can only be answered by one who is competent, from experience, to say that the misery of Africa, within her own borders, is not now greater than when she had an outlet for her superabundant progeny. We know how cheaply life is held in the estimation of her native potentates, and how lavishly blood flows on slight occasions. But I am not an advocate for the white man's use of the black man's slave labour, as I am convinced that it is the former that suffers most by far from the contact.

Abdulla came personally in contact with the offshoots of two European nations, viz. the English and the Dutch; and, to show how far he was guided, in his love to the former, and antipathy to the latter, by sentiment, or by mere love of gain, we must revert to his expressions on the return of the Dutch to take possession of his native town. His accomplishments as an English linguist had been gained by much time and pains—these were his merchandise; and now, to his sorrow, by the return of another white race, he felt he would have no further sale for his wares. How far his prejudices in favour of or against one or the other were well grounded,

it is impossible for an Englishman to judge correctly; but, as Singapore forms a good standpoint from whence to scan the different systems of administration of the two Indies, a cursory review of these will not be inappropriate. Up to the period of which I am writing, both were carried on by corporations, to all intents irresponsible to their respective nations. The patronage of appointments were close monopolies, under which this paradox grew out—that the servants were practically masters, voting their own salaries and the salaries of their *protégées*, which varied from £800 to £10,000 a year, and looking with the greatest jealousy on the employment of any of their own countrymen, whom they occasionally engaged at mere pittances. Governments in such hands could not be expected to be otherwise than contracted, selfish, and unnational in their tendencies; and, though since then appointments have been gained by competition, yet this is a mere apologetic expedient in answer to what ought to be. Practical arts, certainly, may be judged of by competition, such as painting, sculpture, mechanism, etc., but morality, humanity, and sagacity cannot; and these are what are wanted for the service of India more than in any other part of the world. Thus, I opine that the leaders of the nation, in denuding themselves of the right of selection (be it after competent examination), have shirked a responsibility that cannot be disconnected from them. But, after all, why should India now be a mystery? And if not, why perpetuate an anomaly in the support of the worst form of bureaucracy, which has no precedent elsewhere? The greatest similitude that we know of was in the Portuguese mission of the Amazon, where the priesthood, having a monopoly of the country, treated the outside world with the greatest jealousy. This is lucidly portrayed by Humboldt. It is strange to see a

secular corporation following religious exclusiveness so narrowly. Why should not British statesmanship be more liberally applied to the administration of the affairs of India. Why should not men experienced in the world-wide social and political movements, as learnt in England, in a great measure displace the narrow-minded, perverted, and jaundiced superintending nose-grinders, termed members of the Civil Service, whose real capacity entitles them, for the most part, only to perform routine duty; beyond which, from their very recluseness, they cannot expand their visions and see the movements that are abroad? It was these that were caught, as the revellers of Babylon were by Cyrus, in blank ignorance of the all-pervading disaffection that nurtured and brought into existence the great sepoy rebellion of 1857. With more expansive governmental machinery, this ought not to have occurred.

And this fact must not be lost sight of—that India is not now in a state of turmoil, when one race could be pitched against another; the natives are, with the peace, rapidly accumulating wealth, and with wealth the power that it gives them. Hence the rule of the British cannot stand always as an uncompromising one, but measures must be initiated to meet the various exigencies created by the change. It is wrong to think that all the natives take no interest in political events. The story of Abdulla is an example to the contrary, and I have always found intelligent and wealthy natives surprisingly shrewd in their remarks on the powers above them; thus they, by degrees, should be taught to bear the burdens of the public service, according to their intelligence and uprightness. Their service as assessors would be invaluable in cases affecting the rights and troubles of their fellows.* No doubt much

* The Madras Supreme Court, by its expensive proceedings, ruined the most wealthy native families. This was also the case at Penang.

has been effected in this direction since I had opportunities of seeing for myself, but, as observed of the general condition of the people, it was by fear alone that they were moved. There was no love and no common sympathy between them and the European ruler. Thus our motives were misunderstood, and our very sacred acts belied, as witness the St. Andrew's Church calumnies described by Abdulla. This perturbation about the same subject took place at three different times to my knowledge, evincing how little the Europeans have gained the intelligent understanding or trust of the great mass of their native population.

Then, is the burden of the English Government a heavy one? It cannot be said so, for we have the following facts from the latest statistics I am able to refer to in this distant part of the world:—Hindostan pays taxes at 4s. per head; Java, 12s.; yet the former has been in a state of intermittent rebellion for ages,—the latter has been quiet and prosperous since the war of Diepo Nigoro, in 1828. And, proceeding to small matters, in the localities of which Abdulla treats, in which the same principle holds good as in great: Penang pays 3s. 3d. only, and has triennial rebellions; Malacca, 6s. 10d., and has sexennial rebellions; Singapore pays 15s., and is the most loyal settlement of the three; while Nanning, which paid only one-eighth of a penny per head, became so rebellious, that her 5,000 men, women, and children defied the whole strength of the British Indian Government, who spent 2,000,000 of rupees in warlike expeditions before they were persuaded to settle down quietly again. Then it does not appear that light taxation attaches a native population, but the contrary, and this is an anomaly which I will try to explain. It is the same with Europeans. New Zealand, the most burdened colony in the world, is yet the most loyal; her taxation

being thirty-six times heavier than that of India. And why should this be? Simply because there is most advancement, most stirring, most attention to public works, most work for the people, most wages, most savings, most taxable material. And what maintains this loyalty? The high intelligence of her government, and the support and interest of the people. Then what made Nanning, the lightest taxed community in the British dominions, so rebellious? The unintelligent nature of her rulers, a closed Civil Service, and the neglect of works calculated to advance the material comfort and wealth of her people. Human nature is the same all the world over. Then, again, the question arises, Why should Java, a Dutch possession, be so much more quiet than Hindostan, a British possession, and yet pay three times the taxes? No other answer can be given than that this anomaly is due to a more intelligent administration by a less pampered Civil Service, on whom there is greater scrutiny exercised by the home authorities of the Netherlands—a safeguard and influence thus exciting to duty, that has been exercised over their paid civil servants in all the various branches, judicial, land revenue, agriculture, etc., etc. Further, this scrutiny has tended to the amelioration of the condition of the people, by engaging them in reproductive works, such as plantations and agriculture, etc., in which all grades of natives have done their parts, according to their several positions—the rajas, Pengerans, Pengulus, etc., supervising and encouraging; the ryots doing the manual work, according to their different trades—and, through this activity, all benefiting in the ratio of their rights and deserts. Thus an intelligence and sympathy has been generated in the interests of advancement that is wholly wanting in British India, unless through the unregulated and weak exertions in these latter years of private

enterprise. The case amounts to this: The Javanese and Hindoos may be placed on a par as to their producing powers. Then, as the former pay in taxes twelve shillings, and the latter four shillings a head, in Hindostan eight shillings a head goes to buy powder, shot, and warlike material to carry on rebellion from time to time. But a closed or a competitive Civil Service, holding the reins of government, will be too blind to see this; so it is full time that more home statesmanship should be employed in the internal affairs of our possessions. The reduction of the pride and arrogance of irresponsible officialism would, at the same time, tend greatly to encourage loyalty in her native subjects, towards her Majesty the Empress of India.

But, as I have observed before, there is an element in European states that tends to destroy native activity, and consequently native productiveness. This is the democratic phase which is now almost supreme. In the United States of America it has made the whites and blacks change places; and those drawings which we see in the *Illustrated London News*, of the Sambos and Dinahs lolling on the velvet cushions and sofas, drumming on the harps and pianos of their late masters and mistresses, must be highly satisfactory to that faction, unnatural as it may appear to outside lookers-on. And so will it be with the two Indies; if they be long enough undisturbed by other powerful nations, it is a force emanating from England and Holland themselves that will turn the native populations against their white governments, reducing the blacks to idleness and the whites to beggary. If let alone, the local governments would work out a system suitable to the respective conditions of both colours. But the Democrats and Radicals, who actually are the more domineering portion of the respective European nations, will not see

this, and so they will apply measures suitable in their own cases to opposite conditions, and thus overturn and destroy.

And, under these considerations, we see greater risk in Hindostan than in Java, from the freedom and license of the native press, which does not exist in the latter. Metcalfe gave a free press to British India—a questionable gift, when we consider the disorganizing elements at work. It is only a strongly moral and intellectual people, who have room for expansion, that can beneficially make use of this power. A weak and licentious people cannot, so in them the power must be abused; and this we see in the rubbish and grossly licentious productions circulated amongst the lower orders in Calcutta. That the whites and blacks should ever amalgamate is what nature never intended; they are in opposition as much as the opposite poles of the magnet. It is a favourite theory with amiable theorists, who have no responsibility, and are far distant from the scenes and subjects on which they comment, and of which they have no actual knowledge, to say that the white man and black man are equal. But, on being tested, these only betray their own selfishness, presumption, and ignorance; for they spurn practical equality, when brought home to themselves, in their families. So, where European governments have taken possession of tropical countries, that possession is only sure while the whites have the master keys, socially and politically. To be under another condition would be mere madness, but this is what the white democrats drive at. The whites' position, on the contrary, is to command, the blacks to obey; and if that obedience is exacted in a humane manner, the mission is fulfilled as nature's God had ordered it.

We therefore now come to the Dutch *corvée*, or forced

labour in Java, and this leads us first to question the occupation of tropical countries by northern nations. On this there will be great diversities of opinion, according to the ever-varying habits of thought induced by education, national bias, and position in society in general. Suffice it to say that, if the Dutch and English had not occupied Java and Hindostan respectively, other rival nations would. After all, therefore, it is the sword that maintains power. What we have to do with in the mean time, therefore, is this question, viz., Is the *corvée* justified by our common humanity? The historian Temminck seems to think so, and the reader must judge for himself. The Dutch in Java obtain by coercion, *which is not called slavery*—an excellent distinction without a difference, that has happy effects on the democrats in Holland, as it quiets them—what also the English obtain in Hindostan by coercion, through the offices of the zemindars, though in ratio to much less extent; the former proceeding by the public service, the other by private enterprise. The transactions of the zemindars and indigo planters with the ryots are examples of this, and objections will be found to either system. But we must look at the practical positions. The governments are, with small exceptions, the proprietors, and the occupiers of the soil will do no more than merely exist if allowed; so the support of government, if they were left alone, would not fall on them, but on the people of Holland and Britain. What then must be done? They are coerced by government in Java through the native rajas, by private enterprise in Bengal through the zemindars; and is the burden heavy, objectionable as the system may appear, as compared with other countries? The soil of England also originally belonged to the Crown, as that of a greater part of the colonies does now, but the Crown has parted

with it and given it to landlords. These stand, therefore, in relation to the occupiers as the rajas do to the ryots; and what do they exact—£1, £2, £3, and £4 per acre? One tenant may occupy five hundred acres, and pay £1000 annually, and there may be one hundred souls existing on the tenancy; thus £10 is extracted from each man, woman, and child. And what do the Javanese pay? Sixteen shillings; and the Hindoos, four shillings. That is, the Javanese, in the aggregate, are seven and a half times less taxed than the English, and the Hindoos thirty times less. Thus this anomaly appears: that conquering nations are the most oppressed by taxes, the conquered the least; yet neither will admit that the other is happy. The white philanthropist shudders at the oppressions that the black man never feels; while the black man would not change positions with a Sheffield file-cutter or a Newcastle glass-blower were you to promise him paradise in return! The one is full of energy, so must and will thrust himself on the other; while *that other* is so apathetic, that he opens his tent (the tent of Shem) in the evening under the hopes that the son of Japheth may depart in the morning. Vain hope!

But, say the democrats, true, we have conquered and tax lightly, yet we will not give up our principles that all men are equal: these are unchangeable. So give the Hindoo the franchise, and he will elevate himself to be our equal. Very well for a Manchester or Glasgow platform so far away, but do we see the slightest inklings of such thoughts in the autobiography of this intelligent native of India? No, I say emphatically. He knew too well that the constitution of his fellow-subjects inclined them to feel themselves more comfortable under a patriarchal government, and that is the true mission of England to accord—let its spirit be all

pervadingly benign and humane, but not weak and blindly indulgent. Abdulla knew too well the very heterogeneous composition of the population of India, including as it does many languages, tribes, colours, castes, and religions, all apathetic as nationalists—as a mass extremely ignorant, not knowing letters, and bent down to the dust by gross superstitions. How could these exercise the franchise in an intelligent manner? Abdulla himself answers the question when he says, when talking of the aversion of his countrymen to change their apathetic habits, and so rise above their poverty, "Their minds are crowded with the rust of idleness. On every side to the very last, they become like unto earth trodden over by all nations." Again, he ascribes all this "to their contentment with their condition."

This in a few words describes the status of a tropical population. Hence to thrust upon them, even from philanthropic motives, the same liberty and the expensive institutions indulged in by northern civilizations would be absurd. The minds and capacities of the people would first have to be prepared by artificial training—a course that would occupy ages, and then I doubt the power of any statesman to say when our European political machinery could be applied. Certainly not till their own energy, knowledge, experience, and above all, moral force, had equalled ours. But nature, having divided the world into torrid and temperate and frigid zones, has not yet even given any indications of such a consummation.

Such are the thoughts that my work of translation has called forth.

As I left Singapore for good in 1855, I lost sight of Abdulla, but in writing to my old friend and schoolfellow, Mr. J. R. Logan, editor of the *Journal of the Indian*

Archipelago, on or about the year 1865, he informed me that he had died a few years ago. Thus he had only attained the age of fifty-eight, or sixty at most; his autobiography having been written when (as already stated) he was forty-six.

APPENDICES.

I.

TRANSLATION OF FRONTISPIECE.

"*Mr. Milne invited all the Malacca gentry, to the number of forty or fifty, and these having assembled, each put a dollar* below the threshold of the door (there might have been seventy or eighty dollars); and they all stood round the door when Mr. Milne struck it, and called out the name of the house as the 'Anglo-Chinese College,' by which name it has since been called. This done, all returned to their homes. The house was about one year in building, and when it was finished he removed to it from the old house. As to the old house, he levelled it to the ground for a lawn. Now, at this time numerous children of the Chinese, Portuguese, and Malays were taught at the college, of whom four, five, or even ten became clever at reading and writing the English language. At this time, also, many people began to know how to speak English; besides, all the descendants of the Dutch in Malacca changed their habits, language, and costume—male and female. All imitated the English. And many were the times that the gentry asked me to call the Malay children to learn to read and to write, either in Malay or

English; but they would not come, for in their stupidity they feared that they would be taken by force and made English of. So they would not come, as the impression had got hold of their minds that force would be used to convert them. I urged them to come numberless times. Besides, I explained to them that the English had not the remotest intention of converting them, if they themselves were not agreeable; but that the object was no other than to teach them their own language, or the language of the English, as those acquisitions in after life would greatly facilitate their earning a livelihood. I argued, To learn accounts—would that be of no use? for if they did not learn accounts, how could they trade, buy, or sell? Moreover, I counselled them in many ways; but they slighted my advice. The more I harangued them, the more they avoided me; for in their thoughts they said I wished to destroy them. This feeling arrived at such a pitch, that they conceived in their hearts a spite against me. So I was silent. They went and warned my father, requesting him to forbid me to learn the English language, lest I should fall into English customs, and despise my own religion. On this my father forbade me, saying, 'I do not like your going to learn the English language and writing; for not a single Mahomedan learns these, and many people say there is something bad in it, and that it tends to hurt our religion.' Now, when I heard the words of my father, I considered a while, and asked myself, 'From what clique does this foolish talk come to my father? Thus long has he advised me to perfect myself, and now he is angry that I have become so.' Then I asked, 'Why does my father forbid me to learn these things?' And he replied, 'Because many men tell me that harm will come to you by your following English customs, for they are a race skilled in gaining influence over the mind of mankind. I am afraid that harm will come to you by your following their teachings.' Then I replied, 'Is it not right to follow good customs, and to cast aside evil habits; and if from a simpleton I become learned, would that hurt my peace now? You, O father,

have listened to the warnings of fools; they have a spite against me, because I told their children to learn, rather than to sit in idleness and nothingness. Would it not be better for them to learn?' Then said my father, 'You are now clever with your tongue; I am not able to wrangle with you. When you were little, I could correct you; now you are big I am afraid of you.' To this I replied, 'Let me not be lifted up thus. Even if I were a prince, if I be wrong, I shall be amenable to my father's pleasure.' When my father heard this, *he went into his room to seek a rattan cane to flog me.*"

II.

FRONTISPIECE IN ROMAN LETTERS.

"DEBAWA pintu itu ada satu batu alas pintu itu. Maka adala kera-kera tujah delapan puloh ringit. Maka samoa-nia orang-orang itu mendirikan pintu itu serta terdiri maka tampar ulih Tuan Milne pintu itu serta bertriak-nia nama-nia ruma itu Anglo-Chinese College. Maka itula menjeddi nama ruma itu salama-lama-nia. Maka sitella itu masing-masing pun kambalila. Maka adala kera-kera sataun libbi membachi ruma itu. Maka sudala lalu eia pun pindala deri ruma lama ka ruma baru itu. Maka ruma lama itu pun de-rubbahkan de-jeddikan rata akan halaman baru itu ada-nia. Maka adala pada zaman itu terlalu ramei anak-anak China dan Nasrani dan Malayu belajar dalam college. Maka adala juga ampat lima sampei sapuloh iang menjeddi pandei membacha dan menulis basa Ingris. Maka deripada katiga itula de Malaka kabaniakan orang iang tau bertutor Ingris. Maka segala peranakan Holunda iang dalam Malaka pun samoa-nia tela menuker hadat hadat-nia dan basa-nia deripada pakian-nia deripada laki laki dan perum-puan-nia, seklian-nia menurut Ingris. Adapun bebrapa pulo kali de suroh kan ulih tuan tuan itu menchari ana-ana Malayu sopaya bulih eia belajar dan mengtani membacha dan menulis bai basa Malayu bai

basa Ingris. Maka ulih sebab bodo-nia itu takut nanti menjeddi Ingris tiadala eia mau datang krana pada sangka-nia dingan kras nanti de tangkap de masokan Ingris. Maka bebrapa kali suda aku ingatkan akan marika-itu serta membri tau marika-itu bawa sakali kali tida Ingris itu hauda memasokan kamu kadolam igama-nia kalan angkan sindiri tida ridla meleinkan sopaia kamu bulih mengtani basa kamu dan bulih mengtani basa Ingris kalak deblakung terlalu bania guna-nia angkan seklian bulih menchari kahidupan dingan muda-nia dan lagi bulih de-ajarkan-nia elma kera-kera bukanka berguna kapada kamu seklian kera-kera itu. Maka jekalan tida tau kera-kera bagimana handa kamu berniaga joal bili dan lagi bebrapa bania nasihat ku akan marika-itu tida piga de andakan-nia. Maka terlibeh-libeh aku mengajar akan deia maka de taroh kan-nia pula champuran akan-d-aku dalam pikeran-nia aku handa merosakan deia sampei datangla dinki dalam hati marika-itu akan-d-aku. Maka diem diem marika-itu piggi mengasut bapaku melarangkan aku jangan piggi mengajar basa Ingris itu nanti kalak eia menurut hadat Ingris dan rosa igama. Maka bapaku itupun melarang-kan akan-d-aku kata-nia aku tida suka angkan piggi belajar basa Ingris dan surat-nia krana sorong pun orang Islam tida belajar itu dan bania orang mengatakan pekrejaan itu tida bai eia-itu merosakan igama kita ada-nia. Maka apobila ku dingar kan pukataan bapaku itu maka tundola aku sambi, berpikir derimassa karangan-nia datang-nia perkataan bodo ini kapada bapaka. Maka sekian lama-nia de ajar-nia aku sopaia menjeddi pandei maka sekarang ini marah pula eia sebab menjeddi pandei. Maka jawab ku apaka sebab-nia bapa melarangkan saya piggi belajar itu. Maka kata-nia krana bania orang-orang kata sama ku bawa angkan nanti rosa sebab menurut hadat Ingris itu krana eia-itu bangsa terlalu pandei membojok hati orang-aku takut angkan nanti rosa sebab menurut pengajaran itu. Maka jawab ku bukanka patut kita menurut hadat iang bai dan memboang hadat iang jahat maka kalan deripada bodo menjeddi pandei rosaka nama-nia. Maka bapa meningarkan asutan orang bodo

sebab marika-itu menaro dinki kapada saya tagal saya, meniaroh ana-ana belajar deripada dudu dingan chuma-chuma, iang tida berpaida bukanka belajar bai. Maka jawab bapaku angkan suda pandei berchakap sekarang aku tida bulih terlawan lagi, dehulu angkan kichil bulih aku ajar sekarang angkan suda besar pada sangka mu aku takut akan-d-aku. Maka jawab ku jangankan saya ini jikalan menjeddi raja pun sikali pun kalan ada barang apu ku-salahan saya bulih juga bapa boat apa suka. Maka apa bila de dingar itu maka."

NOTE.—The above is written as the language is actually spoken, and independent of the influence of Arabic orthography.

III.

MALAY SPELLING.

SPECIMEN of the first lines of the above as spelt in Malay, the equivalents of the Jawi letters being given in Roman:—

Dbauh pntu ait ad suat batu als pntu ait. Mk adalh kera kera tujh dlapn pulh rngït. Mk smoa-nia aorng aorng ait mndirikn pntu ait srt trdiri mk dtmpr aulh Tuan Mlin pntu ait srt brtrik-nia nma-nia.

NOTE.—The above specimen will show that this system of orthography is a species of shorthand, there being no vowel marks, as in its basis, viz. the Arabic.

IV.

EXTRACTS FROM THE KORAN.

IN order that the reader may more thoroughly understand our autobiographer's position, as well as the motives that would prompt him, I have made short extracts from the Koran, showing its leading principles; and it is to be remembered that, in early youth, these were strictly inculcated in him by his parents and native preceptors. They were thus

engrained in his nature. While both Christianity and Islamism are offshoots of a common Theocracy, viz. Judaism, they, in essentials, are the antitheses of each other. Thus the sentiments of the Koran appear as a reaction against image worship—from which, almost alone, Protestants abstain—also against Trinitarianism, monogamy, the doctrine of the Atonement, the divine essence of man, etc., etc. Arguments against these principles are constantly recurring in the Koran. The doctrines practically suit themselves to the habits and tendencies of tropical peoples, more particularly in the commerce of the sexes, the coercion of the weaker of both sexes for food and clothing alone; while, as a counterpoise, prohibitions are placed on the indulgencies of the palate, such as the use of wine and certain meats. And as to these indulgencies a tropical people are not addicted, they are not a barrier to the extension of the faith. As is well known to our missionaries—and it is a fact which has been publicly acknowledged—the innate constitutional tendencies and weaknesses of tropical peoples form the great obstacles to the success of European Christian missions, whose doctrines and practices are irreconcilably averse to them.*

To the Koran, also, as a book, certain occult virtues are ascribed which have great attraction to people given to fetishism. It thus forms a strong bond as a mysterious common standard. A large portion of it is derived from the Old Testament, as well as from legends connected with Judaism.

EXTRACTS FROM THE KORAN (*as translated by Sale*).

1. *Earth as a plain.* O men, serve the Lord, who hath spread the earth as a bed for you. Chap. ii.

2. *The transgression of Adam and Eve.* But approach not this tree, lest ye become of the number of transgressors. But Satan caused them to forfeit Paradise. Chap. ii.

* Ethiopian Christianity is a phase that adapts itself to the tropical nature of man.

3. *Passage of the Red Sea.* And when we divided the sea for you and delivered you, and drowned Pharaoh's people while ye looked on. Chap. ii.

4. *Miracle of the rock.* And when Moses asked drink for his people, we said, Strike the rock with thy rod; and there gushed thereout twelve fountains. Chap. ii.

5. *Belief in prophets.* We believe in Abraham the orthodox, Ismail, Isaac, Jacob, and Jesus. Chap. ii.

6. *Law of retaliation altered.* This is indulgence from your Lord and mercy. And he who shall transgress after this, by killing the murderer, shall suffer a grievous punishment. Chap. ii.

7. *Fast ordained.* A certain number of days shall ye fast. Chap. ii.

8. *Ramadan.* The month of Ramadan shall ye fast. Chap. ii.

9. *Superiority of men over women.* But the men ought to have a superiority over them. Chap. ii.

10. *Divorce.* But when ye divorce women, and they have fulfilled their prescribed time, etc. Chap. ii.

11. *Usury.* They who devour usury shall not arise from the dead. Chap. ii.

12. *Unity of God* (constantly repeated). There is no God but God, the living, the self-subsisting. Chap. iii.

13. *Nature of the Koran.* Some verses clear to be understood; they are the foundation of the book, and others are parabolical. Chap. iii.

14. *Day of judgment.* O Lord, Thou shalt surely gather mankind together unto a day of resurrection. Chap. iii.

15. *Rewards of the devout.* Gardens through which rivers flow; therein shall they continue for ever, and they shall enjoy rivers free from impurity. Chap. iii.

16. *The Word born of Mary.* O Mary, verily God sendeth thee good tidings: that thou shalt bear the Word proceeding from Himself. His name shall be Jesus Christ, the son of Mary, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and one of those who approach near to the presence of God. Chap. iii.

17. *Unbelievers perish.* And in the next life they shall be of those that perish. Chap. iii.

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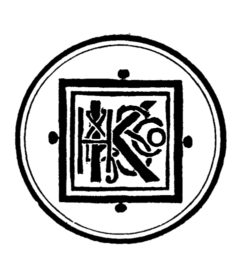
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